This is a digital copy of a book that was preserved for generations on library shelves before it was carefully scanned by Google as part of a project to make the world's books discoverable online.

It has survived long enough for the copyright to expire and the book to enter the public domain. A public domain book is one that was never subject to copyright or whose legal copyright term has expired. Whether a book is in the public domain may vary country to country. Public domain books are our gateways to the past, representing a wealth of history, culture and knowledge that's often difficult to discover.

Marks, notations and other marginalia present in the original volume will appear in this file - a reminder of this book's long journey from the publisher to a library and finally to you.

Usage guidelines

Google is proud to partner with libraries to digitize public domain materials and make them widely accessible. Public domain books belong to the public and we are merely their custodians. Nevertheless, this work is expensive, so in order to keep providing this resource, we have taken steps to prevent abuse by commercial parties, including placing technical restrictions on automated querying.

We also ask that you:

+ *Make non-commercial use of the files* We designed Google Book Search for use by individuals, and we request that you use these files for personal, non-commercial purposes.

+ *Refrain from automated querying* Do not send automated queries of any sort to Google's system: If you are conducting research on machine translation, optical character recognition or other areas where access to a large amount of text is helpful, please contact us. We encourage the use of public domain materials for these purposes and may be able to help.

+ *Maintain attribution* The Google "watermark" you see on each file is essential for informing people about this project and helping them find additional materials through Google Book Search. Please do not remove it.

+ *Keep it legal* Whatever your use, remember that you are responsible for ensuring that what you are doing is legal. Do not assume that just because we believe a book is in the public domain for users in the United States, that the work is also in the public domain for users in other countries. Whether a book is still in copyright varies from country to country, and we can't offer guidance on whether any specific use of any specific book is allowed. Please do not assume that a book's appearance in Google Book Search means it can be used in any manner anywhere in the world. Copyright infringement liability can be quite severe.

About Google Book Search

Google's mission is to organize the world's information and to make it universally accessible and useful. Google Book Search helps readers discover the world's books while helping authors and publishers reach new audiences. You can search through the full text of this book on the web at `http://books.google.com/`

Benjamin J. Talbot

gift of

Professor Payson J. Treat

STANFORD UNIVERSITY LIBRARIES

Simon S. Bachman May 1862

Meylan

[illegible]

[illegible] H [illegible]

MANNERS AND CUSTOMS OF THE JAPANESE.

JAPAN AND THE JAPANESE,

IN THE

NINETEENTH CENTURY.

FROM RECENT DUTCH TRAVELS, ESPECIALLY THE NARRATIVE
OF VON SIEBOLD.

NEW AND CHEAPER EDITION.

LONDON:
JOHN MURRAY, ALBEMARLE STREET.
1852.

vants.—Female servants.—Children by Japanese women.—Restrictions upon their dealings.—Management of the trade.—Police.—Interpreters.—Intercourse with men in office.—Trampling upon the picture of our Saviour.—Toleration and subsequent persecution of Christianity.—Japanese martyrs.—Anecdote of a wrecked Portuguese brig.—Intercourse of subordinate dignitaries.—Audiences of the Governor of Nagasaki.—Dutch sepulchres - - - Page 24—50

CHAPTER III.

VISITS TO NAGASAKI AND ITS ENVIRONS.

Excursions permitted.—Drawbacks.—Town of Nagasaki.—Houses.—Gardens.—Fire-proof store-rooms.—Scenery.—Temples.—Tea-houses.—Education and extraordinary estimation of courtezans.—Visits.—Religious festivals.—Japanese Demons.—Hunting procession.—New Volcano - - - - - - 51—79

CHAPTER IV.

PERIODICAL JOURNEY TO YEDO.

Periods of the Yedo journeys.—Preliminary forms.—Numbers of the party.—Honours paid to the Dutch President.—Array of the party.—Travelling arrangements.—Sights upon the journey.—*Ikko-seu* Temple.—Camphor tree.—Mineral and hot springs.—Prince of Tsikuzen's apartment.—Coal mine.—Mode of obtaining a fair wind.—Examination at Aray.—River Oyegawa.—Mountain Foesi.—Examination at Fakone.—Anecdote.—Arrival - - 80—108

CHAPTER V.

STAY AT YEDO.

Yedo.—Palace.—Visitors.—Physicians and astronomers.—Grandees and ladies.—Silkmercer.—Conflagration.—Anecdote respecting new lodgings.—Audience of the *Ziogoon*.—Ceremonious visits.—Presents.—Forms in Kæmpfer's time.—Japanese fancy for Dutch names.—Banquet - 109—137

CHAPTER VI.

RETURN TO DEZIMA.

Leave-taking at Yedo.—Miyako.—The *Mikado*.—His extraordinary dignity.—Honours paid him.—His abdication or death.—His wives.—His reception of, and visit to the *Ziogoon* at Miyako.—Learning of the *Dairi*.—Ohosaka.—Amusements.—Theatre.—Plays.—Actors.—Strange intermingling of different plays.—Arrival.—Dutch distress during the interruption of intercourse with Java.—Japanese endeavours to relieve it.—Success and failure - - 138—167

CHAPTER VII.

SOCIAL AND DOMESTIC LIFE.

Condition of women.—Customs preceding and accompanying Birth.—Naming the baby.—Treatment of children.—Education.—Abdomen ripping.—Evil eye.—Change of name.—Marriage.—Courtship.—Marriage-brokers.—Presents.—Wedding.—Abdication of heads of families.—Duties of politeness.—Correspondence.—Presents.—Visits.—Banquets.—Tea-drinking.—Amusements.—Music.—Dancing.—Games.—Forfeits.—Intoxication.—Rural and water parties. Retailers of gossip, teachers of good manners.—*Nayboen* or underhand death.—Ceremonies in the house of death.—Obsequies.—Mourning - - - 168—197

CHAPTER VIII.

POLITICAL STATE OF JAPAN.

Government. — Peculiarity of Japanese despotism. — Feudal tenures.—*Mikado.*—*Ziogoon.*—Council of State.—Its constitution and power.—Governor of the Empire.—Consequence of a difference of opinion between the *Ziogoon* and the Council. —Vassal princes.—Ministers forced upon them.—Annoyances to which they are subjected.—Modes of impoverishment. — Lordships. — Imperial governments.—Official establishment at Nagasaki. — Municipal authorities. — Mutual espial.—Its effects.—Classification of the Japanese.—Princes. —Nobles.—Priests.—Military tenants.—Inferior officials and medical profession.—Superior traders.—Inferior traders, artisans and artists.—Peasantry.—Degradation of dealers in leather.—Administration of justice.—Executions.—Torture. —Prisons - - - - 189—230

CHAPTER IX.

ANECDOTES ILLUSTRATIVE OF THE CHARACTER AND MANNERS OF THE JAPANESE.

The *Phaeton*, Captain Pellew, enters Nagasaki Bay.—Transactions there.—Japanese governor's plans. — Neglect of duty discovered.—The *Phaeton's* departure.—Disastrous results.— Siebold's adventures. — Tchouya's conspiracy.—Arrests.— His wife's presence of mind.—He and his friends tortured.— Sibata Zabrobi's friendship.—Execution.—Yorinobon's escape by his secretary's suicide.—Gratitude of his posterity.— Ziogoon's purpose of illegal adoption.—Minister's fruitless remonstrances. — *Midia's* mode of prevention. — Japanese Lucretia.—Minister threatened. — His good-humour.—Test of an accountant's qualifications.—Safe mode of nicknaming a monarch.—Ingenuity of a fisherman.—Its reward.—Artificial mermaid.—Curious mode of trial - - 231—265

CHAPTER X.

ATTEMPTS OF FOREIGNERS TO OPEN RELATIONS WITH JAPAN.

Hospitality towards foreign ships in the 18th century.—American attempts.—Captain Stewart's disasters and schemes.—Baffled. —Shipwrecked Japanese sent from Macao.—Not suffered to land.—Russian attempts.—Count Resanoff's embassy.—Difficulties about forms.—About landing and residence.—Audience.—Overtures rejected.—Difficulties about presents.—Resanoff's resentment.—Hostile invasion.—Consequent degradation of the Prince of Matsmai.—Golownin's expedition. —His capture.—Odd treatment.—Kindness of Japanese after his evasion.—Release.—English attempts.—Sir Stamford Raffles' Pacific Mission.—Foiled by Dutch President.—Present precautions - - - - - 266—295

CHAPTER XI.

LANGUAGE, LITERATURE, AND SCIENCE OF JAPAN.

The language original.—Grammar.—Alphabet.—Variety of written characters.—Their several uses.—Printing.—Books. —Geography.—History.—Moral philosophy.—Encyclopædias.—Poetry.—Specimens.—Science.—Medical.—Acupuncture and moxa-burning.—Astronomy.—Whimsical measurement and division of time.—Cycles.—Year.—Hours of the day and night.—Odd system of numbering them.—Cloaks.—Civil engineering and mechanics 296—318

CHAPTER XII.

ARTS, MANUFACTURES, TRADE, AND PRODUCE OF JAPAN.

Painting. — Prints. — Casting. — Lackerwork. — Metallurgy. — Sword-blades.— Manufactures.—Trade.—Produce.—Money. —Post.—Ship-building.—Husbandry.—Culture of Tea, and mode of drying. — Art of dwarfing trees, and of producing enormous-sized vegetables - - - 319—333

CHAPTER XIII.

RELIGION OF JAPAN.

Sinsyu.—Cosmogony.—Celestial and terrestrial gods.—Temples. —No idols.—Future state.—Precepts.—Impurity.—Purification.—Form of worship.—Priests.—Pilgrimages.—Orders of the blind.—Their romantic origin.—Sects.—Buddhism.—Its introduction.—Acts by which established.—Letter from the Corean prince. — Tumult by Anti-Buddhists. — Buddhism blended with *Sinsyu.*—*Siutoo.*—Consequences of the aversion to Christianity. — Present state of the three religions. — Strange story of a former fourth religion resembling Christianity - - - - - - 334—352

CHAPTER XIV.

HISTORY OF JAPAN.

Name.—Zin-mu-ten-woo, first *Mikado.*—Decline of the *Mikado's* power.—Civil war.—Yoritomo.—His success.—He restores the nominal power of the *Mikado.* — Yoritomo *Ziogoon.*—

Ziogoonship becomes hereditary,—Quarrel with Mongols.—War.—Slaughter of ambassadors.—Peace.—Arrival of the Portuguese.—Success of the Jesuits.—Contentions for the Ziogoonship. — Nobunaga. — Tayko-sama.—Favourite Japanese hero.—His measures of policy.—Death.—Usurpation of Iyeyas.—Persecution of Christians.—Adoption of the present exclusive system.—Iyeyas, deified as Gongen-sama, the founder of the reigning dynasty of *Ziogoons* - 353—372

CHAPTER XV.

INTERCOURSE BETWEEN JAPAN AND CHINA.

Relations between Japan and China. — Chinese assumption of sovereignty.—Corean narrative of a Japanese embassy to China. — Ambassadors' audience. — Treatment. — Chinese visit to Japan. — Japanese literati in China.—Chinese attempts to establish sovereignty over Japan. — Hideyosi's resentment.—War with China in and for Corea. — Peace. — Commercial and friendly intercourse. — Narrative of Japanese traders.—Their capture.—Treatment in Tartary.—At Pekin.—In Corea.—Their remarks.—Return home.—Formalities - - - - - - 373—405

NOTES - - - - - - 407—423

MANNERS AND CUSTOMS

OF THE

JAPANESE.

INTRODUCTION.

OBJECT OF THE WORK—SOURCES OF INFORMATION.

WHILST English travellers are almost overwhelming the British public with information concerning the most remote, the most savage, and the least interesting regions of the globe, there is an extensive, populous, and highly though singularly civilized empire, which remains as much a *terra incognita* now, as it was an hundred years ago. This empire, Japan, has for two centuries, since the simultaneous expulsion of Christianity and the Portuguese, A.D. 1640, been hermetically closed against foreigners of all climes, against Asiatics as against Europeans, with the exception of one Chinese and one Dutch factory, both established and, in fact, imprisoned, in one sea-port town; and of these exceptions, the limited numbers of the Dutch factory, of which alone we know any thing, have been gradually reduced, whilst their visits to the capital have been in like manner restricted. During this long period, no intelligence respecting this secluded insular empire has been attainable, save when some scientific physician, visiting the Dutch factory as its allowed medical attendant, has gleaned such scanty facts as his Japanese acquaintance ventured to impart, in violation of their solemn oaths to reveal nothing; and the relations published by these medical inquirers, upon their return home, were necessarily such as stimulated rather than appeased the appetite of those Europeans who desired to be made acquainted with a country so remarkable for the originality of its political institutions, the peculiar and lofty character of its people, and a form of civilization neither European nor Asiatic, and apparently altogether indigenous.

Of late, however, this state of ignorance has undergone some modification. The schoolmaster has been abroad, it seems, in Holland as elsewhere; whilst the spirit of commercial enterprise has excited other countries, as Russia, America, and England, to vigorous attempts at opening a trade with Japan. These last endeavours have indeed yielded little result beyond proving the pertinacity of the Japanese determination to exclude foreigners from the land. The spirit of authorship that has inspired the traffic-trained members of the Dutch counting-house at Dezima has been more productive. As its fruits, we possess (to say nothing of Japanese books, historical and geographical, brought home in translation or the original,) three several Dutch works upon Japan, by two chiefs and one warehouse-keeper of the factory. In addition to these, Dr. Ph. Fr. von Siebold, a learned German, who, like his German and Swedish predecessors, Kæmpfer and Thunberg, held the situation of physician to the factory, and is endowed with equal judgment and industry, has prosecuted his researches under circumstances more favourable than have been enjoyed by any European since the expulsion of the Jesuits.

But of the recent information thus afforded, little has as yet reached this country. Of the several works, the greater part must needs, from the language in which alone they have hitherto appeared, be unfamiliar to the majority of the British public, whilst all are in various ways unadapted to tempt or to reward the labour of the mere translator. It has, therefore, been thought desirable to gather from all these sources (in a series of papers now collected into a separate volume,) such facts as appear likely to interest the general reader, supplying any further information that may seem requisite to the full understanding of the political and social state of Japan, from older writers,* whose works, though rendered accessible by English versions, are, from their unattractive form, almost unknown.

---

* See Note I.

CHAPTER I.

ARRIVAL IN THE BAY OF NAGASAKI.

Intercourse of the Dutch with Japan.—Voyage.—Shipwrecked Japanese.—Illegality and Danger of their quitting their sinking Vessel.—Approach to Kiusiu.—Appearance of the Country.—Bay of Nagasaki.—Japanese precautions prior to a Ship's entering the Bay,—and on Land.—Smuggling.—Exclusion of a President's wife.—Reasons.—Personal appearance of the Japanese.—Dress.—Ensigns of Rank.—Uses of the Fan.

HOLLAND has no direct communication with Japan. The Dezima factory is under the control of the Governor-general of the Dutch East-Indian possessions; and it is with the seat of Colonial Government, Batavia, in the island of Java, that all its intercourse is carried on. Instructions and appointments originate there, and thence the two annual ships, to which the Dutch trade with Japan is limited, sail for the Bay of Nagasaki.

The voyage appears to occupy from five to six weeks, varying in length, partly according to the time spent in visits to the Dutch settlements by the way; and as it draws to a close the stranger already begins to make acquaintance with the peculiarities, physical and moral, of the unknown country to which he is bound. The first aspect of both is unprepossessing. The rocks and reefs, that render so large a part of the coast inaccessible, and the frequent fogs that obscure, and storms that sweep the neighbouring seas, making those rocks formidable even to the experienced mariner, are hardily more inhospitable than the offensive, precautionary rules to which the ship, and every individual on board, are subjected, ere permission to anchor in Nagasaki Bay be obtained. Occasionally, however, the unfitness of the native vessels to contend with the tempests alluded to, affords a commencement of Japanese adventures anterior even to these annoyances, which, by stimulating curiosity as to the object in view, may encourage the visitor to submit to them the more patiently. Dr. von Siebold had, prior to coming in sight of Japan, such an opportunity of making acquaintance with native Japanese, and learning something of the rigorous laws by which they are governed. He thus relates the occurrence:

"After a fearful storm, a wreck was discovered at day-break of the 5th of August. We made towards it, and recognized a vessel without mast or sail, dragging two anchors. At first, we thought her a Chinese junk; but from a distress-flag which she had hoisted, we soon ascertained that she was Japanese. Unable to carry the smallest sail, she was driving before the E. N. E. wind further and further from land. We lay to, and, stiff as was the gale, high as was the sea, lowered a boat to offer our assistance to the unfortunate crew in their desperate situation. Capt. Jacometti himself went in the boat, and, by strenuous exertion, succeeded in reaching the wreck. The Japanese received the well-known Hollanders as their deliverers, and seeing the impossibility of making the land in their dismasted, leaky vessel, resolved to leave it for our ship. It may seem that, under such circumstances, no great deliberation as to adopting the means of escape tendered could be requisite; but when we shall be better acquainted with the character of the Japanese, with their laws, and with the responsibility weighing upon their officers and constituted authorities, we shall rather wonder that any degree of danger could induce a Japanese sailor to quit his own vessel in order to seek safety on board a foreigner. Meanwhile, the *Onderneming* had rejoined us, and the gallant Captain Lelsz also hastened with his boat to the rescue. The Japanese sailors, twenty-four in number, were divided between the two boats. Some provisions—as rice, salt pork, *sakee* (a sort of beer, or wine, made from rice, and the only fermented liquor known in Japan,) tobacco — as well as arms and clothes, were taken out, and the wreck was abandoned, after being scuttled at the urgent prayer of her crew. Their crime would have been unpardonable, had their deserted bark by any chance drifted to the Japanese coast: she must sink, in order to palliate, in some measure, the step which the unlucky men had hazarded for safety.

"In highly-excited expectation we stood on deck, watching our stout mariners as they battled with the mountainous billows. The boat was soon tossed to our side, and curiously did we gaze at the strange guests as they successively appeared on our deck. They greeted us courteously, but stood amazed; and, sailor-like, first admired the ship that had braved a storm so fatal to their own. They were the first Japanese we had seen, and greatly were we struck by their staid appearance and modest behaviour. Their dress, arms, implements, in short, all they brought on board, drew our attention, and we were presently engaged in pantomimic conversation with them. They were indeed tranquillized, and the unhoped-for change in their condition seemed gratifying to them; but the frightful images of past danger, and traces of long days of painful exertion, still spoke distinctly in their features. Their neglected dress, their whole carriage, all bore the stamp of the state of despair whence they had escaped. They were, however, quickly reconciled to their lot, seemed to relish their *sakee* and tobacco, and chatted away with great animation. They spread their mats on deck, each fetched his box, and a scene, novel to us, began, namely, a Japanese toilet. Above all, we admired their dexterity in shaving their own heads. The Japanese shaves his beard and the crown of his head, omitting so to do only in misfortune — as captivity, death of friends, and the like. In the appropriate *coiffure* of the Japanese, the newly-washed bristly hair left round the shaven crown gives him a wild aspect, which had here passed into the comic, every individual having cut off his *queue* as a sacrifice to his patron divinity, in acknowledgment of his deliverance from imminent danger—a Japanese seaman's vow. Cleanlily dressed, they now walked the deck, and seemed transported to a new world. Every object awakened their curiosity, and offered matter for conversation."

The wreck proved to be a vessel belonging to the Prince of Satzuma, employed in the trade with the Loo-Choo Islands, dependencies of the Japanese empire, but more especially of his principality. And it may here be observed, that the danger of their deserted wreck's floating home was not the only one against which the imperilled mariners had to guard, in accepting the foreign assistance tendered them. Had the Dutch been bound elsewhere than to Nagasaki, the involuntary absence of the Japanese from home could hardly have been so short as not to subject them to imprisonment, and a severe judicial examination, ere they could be allowed to resume their station, low as it might be, amongst their countrymen; whilst any thing of a distant voyage would have inevitably incurred the absolute forfeiture of all their rights as natives of the empire.

Upon approaching the desired port, the excitement of those about to set foot for the first time upon the prohibited shores of Japan is raised to the highest pitch, and they are, in the first place, gratified by the appearance of the country, which is said to be very beautiful.

"Hills clothed with fresh green, and cultivated to the very summit, adorn the foreground, behind which arise blue mountain peaks in sharp outlines. Dark rocks here and there break the glassy surface of the sea, and the precipitous wall of the adjacent coast glittered with ever-changing hues in the bright beams of the morning sun. The mountain side of the nearest island, cultivated in terraces; tall cedars, amongst which white houses shone, and insulated temple-roofs jutted magnificently out, with numerous dwellings and huts bordering the strand and the shores of the bay, afforded a really attractive sight. We neglected not the opportunity of obtaining explanations from our Japanese guests, and learned with surprise that the pretty white houses, which we had taken for the mansions of the grandees, were nothing more than store-houses, the walls of which are coated, as a precaution against fire, with mortar prepared from shell-chalk. Sailing vessels and fishing boats enlivened the mouth of the bay. At the call of our Japanese guests, many fishermen approached, and offered us their fish, with a liberality and affability astonishing in their rank of life. They were most friendly, and evidently enjoyed presenting to us and their rescued countrymen the fruit of their toil. They refused gold and gifts of value, but begged some empty wine-bottles. Common green-glass bottles are much prized in Japan. These fishermen were as nearly naked as was compatible with decency."*

It is here, without the mouth of Nagasaki Bay, that the annoyances, resulting from Japanese law and Japanese suspicion, begin. Guards, stationed on the coast, keep a constant look-out for ships, and as soon as the approach of one is reported at Nagasaki, a boat is despatched thence to demand her name, country, equipage, and every other necessary particular. The business of interrogation is accomplished, without the exchange of a word or any personal intercourse, by papers drawn up from the boat, and returned, after inserting the proper answers. This done, the ship must wait further orders where she is, on pain of being considered and treated as an enemy; and the interval is occupied in packing up bibles, prayer-books, pictures or prints representing sacred subjects, should any such be on board—in short, every thing connected with Christianity—nay, according to some writers, all books whatever and money, in a chest, which is duly locked and sealed.*

---

* Siebold.

When the Governor of Nagasaki has received these answers, a boat is again sent to demand hostages, and when these have been delivered and conveyed to their destined temporary abode, a Japanese deputation, headed by a police officer of the highest rank, called a *gobanyosi*, and accompanied always, at the express request of the Governor of Nagasaki, by one or two members of the Dutch factory, visits the ship, in order finally to ascertain that she is one of the two lawful, annual merchantmen. Should she, at any stage of the proceedings, prove to be an interloper, she is at once ordered to depart; if in distress of any kind, is supplied with whatever she may need, and that gratuitously, the more strongly to mark the determination to suffer no trade; but she is not permitted to enter the bay, or to hold any communication with the shore, beyond asking for and receiving the necessaries of which she is in want. If the investigation proves satisfactory, the Dutchmen return home, the *gobanyosi* takes possession of the guns, arms of all kinds, ammunition, &c. which, together with the chest containing religious objects, he removes to an appointed place on shore, where they remain in deposit during the vessel's stay; to be restored at her departure.

---

* It must, however, be observed that the prohibition of books seems somewhat irreconcilable with the avowed desire of the Japanese for European works of science; and a suspicion arises that prayer-books and bibles have been mistaken by Montanus, upon whose authority the statement rests, for books in general.

Of course, the result was satisfactory upon the occasion of Siebold's arrival, although some difficulties interrupted the smooth course of the established proceedings. In the first place, Dr. Siebold avers that the Japanese interpreters spoke better Dutch than himself, and they immediately declared their disbelief of his being a native of Holland.* Luckily, however, various accents and dialects prevail in the different districts of Japan; and, in consequence, his assertion that he was a *Yama Hollanda,* or Dutch mountaineer, proved fully satisfactory. Similar mistrust had been excited in the last century, by the accent of the Swede Thunberg. In the second place, the shipwrecked Japanese sailors had to undergo a long and careful examination, to justify the suspicious and illegal step of going on board a foreign ship. This also proved satisfactory, and the vessel, rendered spiritually and physically innoxious, by the removal of her bibles and her guns, was towed

* See Note II.

by Japanese boats into the inner harbour, and conducted to her regular anchorage.

"The bay becomes more animated as we approach the town, and offers on both sides the most delightful variety of objects. How inviting are the shores, with their cheerful dwellings! What fruitful hills, what majestic temple-groves! How picturesque those green mountain-tops, with their volcanic formation! How luxuriantly do those evergreen oaks, cedars, and laurels clothe the declivity! What activity, what industry does nature, thus, tamed, as it were, by the hand of man, proclaim! As witness those precipitous walls of rock, at whose feet corn-fields and cabbage-gardens are won in terraces from the steep; witness the coast, where cyclopean bulwarks set bounds to the arbitrary caprice of a hostile element!"*

A superior police-officer is now stationed at Dezima (the Dutch residence adjoining Nagasaki), to watch the unloading and subsequent loading of the vessel, towards which not a step may be taken except under his immediate superintendence. Nay, not a soul is permitted to land without undergoing a personal search in this officer's presence; a new chief or president (*opperhoofd*) of the factory being the only individual exempt from this annoyance.

---

* Siebold.

The offensive custom originated, probably, in the stratagem long employed, to facilitate the immoderate smuggling carried on. We are told that, formerly, every captain of the annual ships was wont, whilst the bibles, &c. were in process of packing, to clothe himself in loose attire, which was made to fit him, in external appearance, by internal waddings. Thus enlarged, he presented himself to the visiting Japanese officers. When about to land, he exchanged his waddings for the contraband articles intended to be introduced, wore his waddings during his stay, and repeated the former operation prior to re-embarking for departure. This practice has now been rendered impossible; but it should seem that, in spite of Japanese suspicion and vigilance, other modes of introducing and extracting prohibited goods have been adopted in its stead, inasmuch as all the members of the factory agree that such prohibited goods are brought on shore, and secretly sold or bartered for such Japanese wares as the Dutch wish, but are forbidden to acquire. Of these last, many specimens are even now extant, in proof of the fact that they can still be exported as well as purchased, in the Royal Museum at the Hague; whilst the possibility of introducing prohibited articles into Dezima, at least, further appears from President Doeff's statement, that the factory have bibles and psalm-books, the possession of which, President Meylan observes, is now connived at. It may, perhaps, be inferred, that the Japanese dread of Christianity has very much subsided during the long period that has elapsed since the last missionary endeavours to convert the empire.

But to return to the annoyances connected with landing. The indispensable necessity of searching the persons of new comers, as well as the inexorable rigidity of the Japanese system of exclusion, may be illustrated by an incident that could hardly have occurred elsewhere. It appears that, in the year 1817, Doeff's successor in the presidentship of the factory, Heer Blomhoff, threw the whole town of Nagasaki, population and government, into consternation, by bringing with him, not an armed force, but his young wife, their new-born babe, and a Javanese nurse: a contravention of Japanese law, the heinousness of which was enhanced by its having been imitated; inasmuch as the mate of the ship, had likewise brought his wife with him, less criminally, indeed, than Heer Blomhoff, the mate intending to take his family away again when the vessel sailed, whilst the new head of the factory meditated the atrocious offence of obtruding his wife, child and nurse, upon Nagasaki, or at least upon Dezima, during all the years of his presidentship.

The Governor at once objected to the lady's even landing, Heer Doeff, kindly desirous to procure for his successor, perhaps for all future *opperhoofds,* and the whole factory, the solace of virtuous female and domestic society, entered into a negociation upon the subject, the course and issue of which he thus narrates:

"I appealed to the precedent of 1662, when the Chinese pirate, Coxinga, having taken Formosa from the Dutch, as many women and children as fled thence to Japan were admitted into Dezima; and solicited the self-same favour now. The Governor replied, that the cases were not alike; that, on the occasion cited, the women had come *through necessity,* as fugitives, but now *by choice.* In the first case, the Japanese could not refuse an asylum to a friendly nation; the second was altogether different.* He promised, however, to submit my request to the Court at Yedo, and to allege the precedent in question in its support. Meanwhile, Mevrouw Blomhoff was allowed provisionally to land at Dezima, with her child and servant, there to await the answer. Still, a great difficulty remained. No one who sets foot in Japan is exempt from an examination of his whole person, the *opperhoofd* alone excepted; the Governor himself has no power to dispense with this search. I took it upon myself, nevertheless, to arrange this affair in regard to the women, as well with the superintending *gobanyosi* on board as on shore at Dezima; and although the examination could not be omitted, it was managed with the utmost forbearance and decency. * * * *

---

* See Note III.

"After an interval of two months, the answer to Heer Blomhoff's petition, for leave to keep his wife and child with him, came; it was a refusal. The husband was naturally much dissatisfied and dejected, but all our efforts to soften this determination were vain; against the presumed decision of the Emperor, the Governor durst not offer any fresh remonstrance or representation. This severity of exclusion was not directed expressly against Hollanders, or even foreign *women*, but against all persons who are not *positively necessary to carrying on the trade.* The general principle of the Japanese is, that no one must enter their country *without cause*, so that not even to a Dutchman is access allowed, unless he belongs to the ship's crew, or to the counting-house. Thus when, in 1804, Captain van Pabst, a military officer, accompanied his friend, Captain Musquetier, of the *Gesina Antoinetta*, from Batavia to Japan, being entered on the ship's muster-roll as 'passenger,' we were obliged, in spite of all I could say against it, to enter him on *our* muster-roll as 'clerk,' or 'mate' (I forget which), before he could come ashore. The amiable character of Heer van Pabst caused his presence to be winked at; yet might he not bear the name of a 'passenger.'

"It may easily be imagined how affecting was the parting of the wedded pair, now condemned to a long separation. On the 2d of December, Heer Blomhoff conducted his wife, child, and nursemaid, on board the good ship *Vrouw Agatha*, in which I was to return with them to Batavia."

This chapter may not unaptly conclude with a brief sketch of the appearance of the people whom the voyager has come so far to visit, as they first meet his eye; some, before he even sets foot on Japanese ground; others, standing with the head of the Dutch factory, all in full dress, to receive him as he lands. And first of their persons.

The Japanese have all the organic characteristics of Mongol conformation, the oblique position of the eye included; but they seem to be the least uncomely of that ugly race. Klaproth considers the Chinese portion of their nature to be happily modified by greater energy, muscular and intellectual. They are generally described as well made, strong, alert, and fresh-coloured; the young of both sexes as smooth-faced, rosy, and graced with abundance of fine black hair. The Dutch writers, indeed, dilate complacently upon the beauty of the young women, of which a specimen is given in a portrait in Siebold's work. The gait of both sexes is allowed to be awkward, and the women's the worst, in consequence of their bandaging their hips so tightly as to turn their feet inwards.

The ordinary dress of both sexes and all ranks is in form very similar, differing chiefly in the colours, delicacy, and value of the materials. It consists of a number of loose, wide gowns, worn over each other—those of the lower orders made of linen or calico, those of the higher generally of silk—with the family arms woven or worked into the back and breast of the outer robe; and all fastened at the waist by a girdle. The sleeves are enormous in width and length, and the portion that hangs below the arm is closed at the end, to answer the purpose of a pocket, subsidiary, however, to the capacious bosoms of the gowns, and to the girdles, where more valuable articles are deposited; amongst these are, whilst clean, neat squares of white paper, the Japanese substitutes for pocket-handkerchiefs, which, when used, are dropped into the sleeve, until an opportunity offers of throwing them away, without soiling the house. This description applies to both sexes, but the ladies usually wear brighter colours than the men, and border their robes with gay embroidery or gold. Gentlemen wear a scarf over the shoulders; its length is regulated by the rank of the wearer, and serves in turn to regulate the bow with which they greet each other, inasmuch as it is indispensable to bow to a superior until the ends of the scarf touch the ground.

To this, upon occasions of full dress, is superadded what is called the garb of ceremony. It consists of a cloak of a specific form, thrown over the other clothes. With the cloak is worn, by the higher classes, a very peculiar sort of trousers, called *hakkama,* which appears, both from the description given, and from the appearance of the article, so far as can be distinguished in the glass-cases of the Hague Museum, to be formed of an immensely full-plaited petticoat, sewed up between the legs, and left sufficiently open on the outside to admit of free locomotion.

The difference of rank signalized by these petticoat-trousers is only apparent upon occasions of ceremony: the constant criterion turns upon the wearing of swords. The higher orders wear two swords—on the same side, it should seem, and one above the other. The next in rank wear one; and, whether two or one, these are never, by any chance, laid aside. To the lower orders, a sword is strictly prohibited.

Within doors, socks are the only covering of the feet. Abroad, shoes are worn, but of the most inconceivably inconvenient kind. They are represented as little more than soles, of straw, matting, or wood, mainly kept on by an upright pin, or button, held between the two principal toes, which, for this purpose, project through an appropriate aperture in the socks; or, according to some older writers, by a horn ring. The impossibility of lifting a foot thus shod in walking, may amply account for the awkward gait ascribed to the Japanese. Upon entering any house, these shoes are taken off.

The head-dress constitutes the chief difference, in point of costume, between the sexes. The men shave the whole front and crown of the head; the rest of the hair, growing from the temples and back of the head, is carefully gathered together, drawn upwards and forwards, and so tied as to form a sort of tuft on the bald skull. Some professions, however, deviate from this general fashion; Budhist priests and physicians shaving off all the hair, while surgeons retain all theirs, gathered into a knot at the top of the head.

The abundant hair of the women is arranged into the form of a turban, and stuck full of pieces of fine tortoiseshell, fifteen inches long, of the thickness of a man's finger, highly wrought, and polished to look like gold. They are said to be extremely costly; and the more of them project from a lady's hair, the better she is dressed. They wear no jewellery or other trinkets. The face is painted red and white, to the utter destruction of the complexion; the lips purple, with a golden glow; in addition to this, the teeth of a Japanese married lady are blackened and her eyebrows extirpated.

Neither men nor women wear hats, except as a protection against rain: the fan is deemed a sufficient guard from the sun; and, perhaps, nothing will more strike the newly-arrived European than this fan, which he will behold in the hand or the girdle of every human being. Soldiers and priests are no more to be seen without their fans than fine ladies, who make of theirs the use to which fans are put in other countries. Amongst the men of Japan, it serves a great variety of purposes; visitors receive the dainties offered them upon their fans; the beggar, imploring charity, holds out his fan, for the alms his prayers may have obtained. The fan serves the dandy in lieu of a whalebone switch; the pedagogue instead of a ferule for the offending schoolboy's knuckles; and, not to dwell too long upon the subject, a fan, presented upon a peculiar kind of salver to the high-born criminal, is said to be the form of announcing his death-doom: his head is struck off at the same moment as he stretches it towards the fan.*

But we are getting beyond the objects that greet the eye on landing, and must pause.

* Siebold.

CHAPTER II.

LIFE AT DEZIMA.

Factitious island.—Factory.—Confinement of the Dutch therein. —Restrictions upon their intercourse with Natives—With Servants—Female Servants.—Children by Japanese Women. —Restrictions upon their dealings.—Management of the Trade.—Police.—Interpreters.—Intercourse with Men in office.—Trampling upon the Picture of our Saviour.—Toleration and subsequent Persecution of Christianity.—Japanese Martyrs.—Anecdote of a wrecked Portuguese Brig.—Intercourse of subordinate Dignitaries.—Audiences of Governor of Nagasaki.—Dutch Sepulchres.

HAVING now landed the new member of the Dutch factory at Dezima, we must next take a survey of the spot in which he is, in most cases, to be immured for the next few years of his life. Like everything in Japan, it is original, being an artificial, or rather, perhaps, a factitious island, built in the bay, after the manner of a pier, or breakwater. The very object of its construction was to serve as a place of confinement, although not for the Dutch.

When the Japanese Government began to entertain jealousy and dislike of foreigners, the first measure taken, at the instigation of those feelings, was so to situate them as that they could conveniently be watched. For this purpose, the Europeans and their commerce were restricted to the two ports of Nagasaki and Firato, at which last place the Dutch factory was then established. The next step was to confine the Portuguese more closely still; with this view was their abode projected, and the island of Dezima directed to be built from the bottom of the sea. The emperor's pleasure being asked as to the form of the future island, he unfolded the ever actively-employed fan; and accordingly, in the shape of a fan, without the sticks upon which a fan is mounted, was the island constructed. When the Portuguese were finally expelled, the Dutch were transferred from Firato to their prison-house.

Dezima is about 600 feet in length by 240 across, and is situated a few yards only distant from the shore, close upon which stands the town of Nagasaki. The island and town are connected by a stone bridge, but a high wall prevents the dwellers in either from seeing those in the other. The view of the bay, teeming with life and bustle, appears indeed to be open to the inmates of the factory, secluded as they are; but the view is a distant one only, no Japanese boat being permitted to approach the island within a certain prescribed distance, marked by a stockade. The bridge is closed by a gate and guard-house, constantly occupied by a body of police and soldiers, who alike prevent the Dutch from quitting their island without permission, and debar the access of Japanese visitors, save and except the appointed individuals, and those at the appointed hours. Neither Dutch nor Japanese may pass the gate without being searched. The sea-gate is similarly watched, though with a police force only, when opened, which it never is, except for intercourse with the Dutch ships, whilst in the harbour. The name given to the island implies 'Fore-island,' or 'Ante-island,' the word *zima* meaning 'island,' and *de*, 'fore,' or 'ante.'

The number of European residents in this singular island is now limited to eleven. They consist of the *opperhoofd*, head, or president of the factory, called by the Japanese *Holanda*, or *Horanda Capitan ;* a warehouse-master; a secretary, or, in plain mercantile English, a book-keeper; a physician; five clerks,* and two warehousemen. Foreign servants they are not allowed, such being evidently unnecessary, as they can be waited upon by Japanese; and, after a fashion, so they are, that is to say, whilst the sun is above the horizon. But the place of the attendance to which Europeans are accustomed, especially in Asiatic colonies, is of course but very imperfectly supplied by men who can scarcely be termed domestics, since so little are they domesticated with their masters, as not to be suffered to sleep in those masters' houses. The Japanese servants of the factory must leave the island at sunset, and prove that they do so, by presenting themselves at the appointed time to the proper authorities at the bridge watch-house; nor, it is said, can any emergency, not the most dangerous illness of a Dutch master, excuse the violation of this rule.

---

* See Note IV.

The utter destitution of attendance, in which every member of the factory is thus left, during half his time, "without the means of even getting the tea-kettle boiled for his evening tea," is pathetically and earnestly dwelt upon by one of the recent writers, in apology for the immoral connexions which his countrymen are, he avers, actually compelled to form in Japan; and the singularity of every thing appertaining or relating to this very extraordinary country, must excuse the bringing forward an offensive topic.

It appears that the only individual Japanese exempt from the necessity of quitting Dezima at sunset, are women who have forfeited the first claim of their sex to respect or esteem, whilst no female of good character is at any time permitted to set foot in the island, as is announced in the plainest and coarsest terms by a public proclamation, placarded near the bridge-gate. From this unhappy and degraded class alone, therefore, can the Dutch procure either female servants or constant attendance. The consequences, in their irksome situation, deprived for years of all family society, need not be told. The progeny of the Dutch by these women are considered as altogether Japanese. As such, they must not be born in Dezima; and it is probably to guard against illegal births, that the women are bound to present themselves, once in every twenty-four hours, to the police-officer in command at the bridge. An incidental mention, by Doeff, of the women and children in the factory, shows that the mothers are permitted to nurse their infants in the houses of the fathers; but at a very early age, these half-caste children are subjected to restrictions, in their intercourse with their fathers, similar to those imposed upon the intercourse of all natives with foreigners; and the only indulgence granted to the paternal feelings of the Dutch, consists of the permission to receive a few specified visits from their offspring at certain intervals (whether this permission extends to their daughters is not stated), and to provide for their education and support through life. The fathers are frequently allowed, if not required, to purchase for their adult Japanese sons some office under government, at Nagasaki or elsewhere.

As no Japanese may be born in Dezima, so may none die there; although how this is avoided, in cases of sudden death, is not explained. It may be conjectured, however, that the remedy is sought in the underhand course termed *nayboen* by the Japanese (which means the professed concealment of something generally known), and of the strange and incessant use of which much will have to be said hereafter. Thus appearances may, perhaps, be saved by concealing the death, and removing the deceased, as though still alive, to the place where he may lawfully die. This would be merely absurd; but it is a more revolting idea, that such precipitate transportation may occasionally take place ere the vital spark be quite extinct, and the time which, judiciously employed, would have saved life, be wasted in conveying the sufferer to a legal death-bed. But the loss or preservation of life are trifles in Japanese estimation, when placed in competition with the strict observance of rules and forms.

The dwellings in this singular species of prison are not given to the prisoners by government, nor even the use of the ground, whereon to erect habitations at their pleasure. The houses appear to have been built by Nagasaki citizens, upon speculation; and the Dutch pay for them an exorbitant rent fixed by authority. They are, however, permitted to fit them up according to their own taste, and either to procure furniture, in the European style, from Java, or to have it made by their own direction in Japan; and so dexterous, ingenious, and patiently persevering are the Japanese handicraftsmen, that they rarely fail to execute any thing they undertake, how different soever from the articles they are accustomed to produce. They are said, however, occasionally to require from their customers patience similar to their own, as no money will induce them to expedite their work by encroaching upon the hours allotted to meals, rest, or recreation.

But the artificers they are thus to employ, or the tradesmen with whom they are to deal, the members of the factory are not permitted to choose for themselves. Purveyors are officially appointed in some departments, and the prices at which they are to serve the factory with their several wares are fixed by government fifty per cent. above the regular market-price; a rate of charge avowedly intended in part to defray the expenses incident to the safe custody of the strangers. For other departments there is an appointed purchaser (still called by his Portuguese name of *comprador*), who buys every unprohibited article that the Dutch may desire to possess; and these purchases, when made, they have no money to pay for. Whether as a preventive of bribery, or for what other motive this restriction be imposed, appears not; but to the Dutch, all money dealings, and even the possession of money, are prohibited. Even the sale of the Dutch imported merchandize and purchase of the return cargoes are transacted neither by means of hard cash, nor yet by the factory established in Japan, it might be supposed, for that especial purpose. Formerly indeed the commercial operations appear to have been effected at a sort of public sale or fair held in the Dezima factory. But now, the cargoes of the Dutch ships, when landed, are delivered to Japanese authorities, who sell the imported merchandize, employ the price in paying for the goods to be exported, and give in their unchecked accounts to the Dutch president. Even the private adventures allowed to the members of the factory, in compensation for their inadequate salaries, are thus disposed of, and their returns thus procured. The remaining accounts of the purveyors and *comprador*, against every individual member, are settled out of the proceeds of these annual sales.

The purveyors, the *comprador*, a Japanese physician (appointed provisionally to act in case of the Dutch physician's illness, death, or absence), a professor of the Japanese remedy of acupuncture, and the known servants, even the porters employed in unloading and loading the annual ships, are respectively furnished with seals, or tickets, by way of passport, that authorize their ingress and egress to and from Dezima, at the lawful hours. But all these persons are obliged, prior to entering upon their offices, to sign, with their blood, an oath binding them to contract no friendship with any of the Dutch; to afford them no information respecting the language, laws, manners, religion, or history of Japan; in short, to hold no communication with them, except in their several recognized functions. No individual save those above-mentioned, and the officers and interpreters employed by government, can enter Dezima without an express permission from the Governor of Nagasaki: but it is said, that any Japanese visitor, who wishes to obtain admittance without this formality, can usually succeed by bribery, passing as the servant of some one of the sanctioned or official visitors.

The due observance of all these regulations and restrictions is enforced and watched over by the municipal officers and police of Nagasaki; a certain number of whom, with a proportionate allowance of interpreters, are always upon the island. Houses are there assigned them, but there appears to be little occasion for more than a station-house or guard-room, the whole set being relieved every twenty-four hours.

The interpreters constitute one of the regular corporations, or guilds, of Nagasaki, and receive salaries from the *ziogoon*, or emperor, as he is usually called by Europeans. From sixty to seventy of the body, reckoning superior and inferior, are formally appointed Dutch interpreters; and a yet larger number are assigned to the Chinese factory, which, like the Dutch, is confined to a spot adjoining Nagasaki. But even these appointed Dutch interpreters are forbidden to communicate freely with the factory; they must not visit the president, or any of his inferior countrymen, unless accompanied by a municipal officer, or, according to Fischer, by a spy. But although the whole administration of Japan seems to be a system of *espionage*, as will appear hereafter, it is hardly to be supposed that the spies, upon whose relations this cautious government depends for information, can be so publicly known as to be in official attendance. It is far more likely, that some of the menial servants of the factory act in the secondary capacity of spies, reporting the conduct of municipal officers and interpreters, perhaps also of the other spies, as well as of their masters. This conjecture is confirmed by the information, that all these servants understand Dutch, which does not seem to be the case with the police or municipal officers.

Whilst the Dutch vessels remain in the bay, and the business of unloading, procuring a cargo, reloading, and all thereunto appertinent, is going on, a good deal of consequent negotiation and intercourse takes place betwixt the president and the governor and his subordinates; and some diversity of opinion exists between the Dutch and the German writers, as to the degree of politeness which, upon this and other formal occasions, marks the behaviour of the Japanese. Dr. von Siebold avers, that the Dutch *opperhoofd* still submits to very degrading insults and contemptuous treatment; attributing such submission, however, to a patriotic anxiety for the preservation to Holland of a highly profitable trade, not to any individual lucre of gain; whilst most of the Dutchmen, on the other hand, affirm, that they receive every mark of consideration and respect that could reasonably be expected or desired, and hold the trade to be of little value. The accounts given by the Dutch presidents of their intercourse with, and treatment by, the different Japanese placemen with whom they come in contact, will enable the reader to judge between these opposite views. One preliminary observation may, however, afford a key to the conduct of this haughty, but not conceited, nation.

The Japanese nobles and placemen, even of secondary rank, entertain a sovereign contempt for traffic; whence it may be inferred, that the head or director of a commercial establishment cannot expect to be treated by them as their equal. And that this is the light in which they, not unjustly, regard the Dutch *opperhoofd*, is proved by the adaptation to that gentleman of their sumptuary laws respecting swords. This mark of dignity is strictly prohibited to all Japanese traders; and the wealthiest merchant can no otherwise free himself from the degradation, imposed by these sumptuary laws, of appearing unarmed, than by prevailing upon some indigent noble, whose necessities his purse has relieved, to enter his (the merchant's) name, upon the list of his (the nobleman's) servants; when the titular domestic is permitted, in his menial capacity, to wear a single sword. Now of the whole Dutch factory, the president alone is permitted ever to wear a sword, and even he is allowed but one, and that one to be worn only upon state occasions; all of which, be it remembered, has no reference either to nation or to person, but is absolutely and solely the test and mark of station, or rather perhaps of class: can the man who may only wear a sword at all upon particular specified occasions, expect to be placed on a footing of equality with him who wears two, or even with him who wears one at his own pleasure, that is to say, always?

There is, however, one very important point of the treatment of the Dutch in Japan, respecting which all the late writers agree in correcting the mistaken impression prevalent throughout Europe. This point is their religion, which, if they are not allowed openly to profess by practising its rites—

because these are acts prohibited by irrevocable Japanese law—they are not, now at least, required to deny and to insult, by trampling upon a picture of the Virgin and infant Saviour. That they ever did sully the Christian name by submitting to this sacrilegious humiliation, to which thousands of Japanese martyrs preferred death, rests solely upon the authority of their expelled commercial rivals, the Portuguese, and of the hostile Jesuits; corroborated, indeed, by the contempt which the Dutch, at the period of their obtaining their first charter, A. D. 1611, in the midst of the persecution of the native Christians and of the missionaries, appear to have incurred from the Japanese, by a supple compliance with every requisition. The question thus limited can be of little interest to any but Dutch feelings; still, what is known of the history of this singular ceremony of abjuration, and of the treatment of the Dutch relative to religion, both of yore and at present, is too characteristic of Japanese nature to be omitted.

From the first visits of the Portuguese to Japan, Roman Catholic preachers of the Christian faith flocked to the new theatre that offered itself to their zeal. At their head was that really extraordinary and apostolic Jesuit, afterwards canonized for his great and triumphant exertions in converting the heathen, St. François Xavier; and up to the latter end of the sixteenth century, Christianity and the missionary labours of the Jesuits enjoyed there a toleration so complete as to be almost unaccountable in a country in which the authority of the nominal autocrat sovereign, the *Mikado* (whose vicegerent only the *Ziogoon** professes himself), essentially rests upon its religion; the *Mikado* (literally 'the son of heaven') reigning solely as the acknowledged descendant and representative of the gods. In consequence of this toleration, the missionaries were so successful, that, according to the reports made by the Jesuits to their superiors in Rome, there were in Japan, prior to the breaking out of the civil wars that produced the prohibition of Christianity, 200,000 native Christians, amongst whom were found princes, generals, and the flower of the nobility. Nay, a few years later, the heir of the *ziogoonship* is said to have been half a convert: whilst the numbers of the Jesuits' flock increased rapidly, even by hundreds of thousands, throughout the whole of those civil wars and the early period of the persecution.

During those civil wars the native Christians embraced, like Cato, the weaker side; the consequence was this persecution. A legal persecution, which, modified by much connivance—according to the Japanese *nayboen* system—lasted for years, until, in 1637, a rebellion broke out in the principality of Arima, where the population was chiefly Christian. The cause and character of this rebellion are variously represented by the Dutch and Portuguese* authorities. According to the latter, it originated in the increased persecution of his Christian subjects by a newly-appointed heathen prince: whilst the Dutch represent it as provoked solely by the tyranny and extortion of that new prince, and altogether unconnected with religious differences; and Siebold, who may be considered as neutral, without saying any thing as to its origin, calls it "the unsuccessful insurrection of the Christians." Viewing the subject impartially, the probability assuredly is, that religion was the impelling cause of the insurrection in question. Persecution of native Christians, with the penalty of death denounced against all who refused the test of trampling upon the effigy of the Virgin and the infant Redeemer, was even then the law of the land, and would naturally afford both the pretext and the means of a newly-appointed heathen ruler's tyranny and extortion. Be this as it may, after a long struggle, the Prince of Arima drove the insurgents, who have been estimated at 70,000, into the peninsula of Simabara; and finding himself unable there to subdue them, he, with the full sanction of the *Ziogoon*, called upon the Dutch to bring their armed vessels and artillery to his assistance. Koekebokker was at that time the head of the Dutch factory, then established at Firato, and most prosperous amidst the great privileges granted by the original charter and the liberty enjoyed under the protection of the kindly-disposed Prince of Firato. Koekebokker obeyed the summons with the single man-of-war at his disposal, and the Dutch artillery decided the fate of the unfortunate Christian insurgents at Simabara. This civil war is said to have cost forty thousand lives; and the prince's triumph was followed by the rigid enforcement, throughout the empire, of the laws against Christians, the vanquished rebels being the first victims.

---

* See Note V.

---

* See Note VI.

This compliance with a Japanese requisition to act as auxiliaries against their fellow-Christians, the Dutch writers vindicate upon the plea of the civil war not having been a religious war, although they do not deny the Christianity of the unhappy rebels shut up on Simabara. The real apology probably lies in their not irrational dread that their own lives might pay the forfeit of disobedience to a mandate sanctioned by the emperor. It is not unlikely that this very compliance, by satisfying the government of the truth of the assertion, that though the Dutch were Christians, their Christianity was not the Christianity of the Portuguese, won their exemption from the general exclusion. They were, however, then removed from Firato and liberty to the vacated Portuguese prison, Dezima.

But this subject of the persecution must not be dismissed without a tribute of admiration to the heroic constancy with which the Japanese converts adhered, under every trial, to the faith they had adopted. Every native Christian was now put to the test of trampling on the image of his Redeemer; and the Jesuits assert that scarce an instance of apostacy occurred, whilst incredible numbers voluntarily embraced martyrdom, as inflicted with a refinement of barbarity not unfrequent in Japanese executions, and often reminding the reader of that rivalry in infliction and endurance between the torturer and the tortured, so common amongst the red men of North America. When the Japanese were weary of torturing and slaughtering—and such weariness seems as little appertinent to the national idiosyncrasy as mercy—the remaining multitudes were locked up in prisons, there kept to hard work upon wretched fare, and annually offered wealth and freedom as the price of abjuring Christianity in the prescribed form. The offer was annually rejected, until the last Japanese Christian had died off. Some executions of native Christians and of Jesuit Missionaries are mentioned as late as 1660, and 1665.

Even to the present day, every native Japanese, or, according to Doeff, only every native of Nagasaki and the adjoining principalities, is required thus to prove his non-Christianity. The trampling ceremony is performed annually upon a certain festival-day of the national religion, to wit, the fourth after their new-year's day; and so universal is it, and must it be, that bed-ridden invalids, and even infants in arms, are made to touch the picture with their feet. But the regular ceremony is now confined to natives, and upon other occasions the trampling appears to be only used as a test to ascertain the religion, or rather the non-Christianity, of strangers.

So far from any member of the Dutch factory being required to participate in this revolting rite, we are positively assured, that those among them who felt curious to witness an abjuration of Christianity, concerning which they had heard so much, have been unable to gratify their wishes; and all that is told upon this subject in the recent publications is given purely on the authority of Japanese acquaintance. In addition to these statements, an anecdote is told relative to this matter, which occurred soon after Doeff's arrival, and is highly illustrative of the kindly feeling now entertained by the Japanese towards their Dutch guests, as well as of their habitual forbearance with respect to religion, and of their general politeness. It is thus narrated by the President.

"In November, 1801, whilst Heer Wardenaar was *opperhoofd*, and I warehouse-master, a small brig was wrecked upon the Gotto island, and brought to Nagasaki for examination.* The Governor of the city requested the *opperhoofd*, together with the secretaries, M. Mak and D. H. Letske, to attend the examination in the government house. The brig's crew consisted of a Malay man and wife, a young boy, and two maid-servants of the same nation, a black Papoe, a Chinese, and a Cochin Chinese. The brig was evidently Portuguese, and the crew unanimously declared that she had sailed from Portuguese Timor, bound for Amboyna; but that the captain and all the officers having died upon the voyage, they, the survivors, had found themselves so unable to manage the vessel, that they could only let her drive, trusting to Providence; and had thus, in the end, run upon the Gotto island. Hereupon the Governor requested all the Hollanders who were present to withdraw for a moment. They thought this strange; but soon afterwards learned from the chief interpreter, that the Governor not knowing these people, was bound by his orders to make them trample upon these images; and to avoid giving the Hollanders offence, had wished that it should not be done in their presence. This ceremony over, the Hollanders were invited to return. Hence it is manifest that the Japanese know and respect our religious opinions. Further, that they no longer practise such overstrained severity towards others as they did in times past, appears from the sequel. Although it was clear that the brig's crew were Roman Catholics, the Governor, out of compassion for the shipwrecked wretches, sent the Malays and the Papoe to us, in Dezima, confining them, however, in an old house, inclosed with bamboos, and watched by a Japanese guard; whilst the Chinese and Cochin Chinese were similarly confined in the island inhabited by the Chinese factory, there to wait until, according to the commands from court, the latter could be conveyed to China by the junks, and the former in our ship, the *Matilda Maria*, to Batavia (1802). It there appeared but too certain, that the brig had sailed from Timor for Macao, and that the above-named crew had murdered the captain and other officers, in order to possess themselves of the vessel, which they proved unable to manage. They were thereupon sent to Macao, where they suffered the punishment of their crime."

---

* See Note VII.

Having thus imparted all the information that recent authors afford upon this important point, turn we to the forms, flattering or offensive, observed in the official intercourse that takes place betwixt the Dutch and the Japanese authorities; citing them from the Dutch writers. President Meylan, who was last in Japan of any of the late writers, and who seems the least confident of his countrymen as to the honours paid him, considers it as a prodigious privilege, that the chief police officer and the burgomaster of Nagasaki, when they have business with the head of the factory, repair to his house, instead of summoning him to their tribunal in the island; and he proceeds thus to describe this official visit.

"Upon such occasions, the president is bound, in expectation of their arrival, to spread a carpet, to provide liqueurs and sweetmeats to be offered at the proper time, to await the high dignitary* at his own door, and, when the said high dignitary has seated himself, in Japanese fashion, on his heels on the carpet, to squat himself down in like manner, bowing his head two or three times to the ground, and thus making his *compliment*, as it is termed here. In all this I should see nothing, it being the usual mode in which Japanese grandees receive and salute each other; but here, in my mind, lies the offence, that between Japanese this compliment is reciprocated, whilst, at an interview between a Netherlander and a Japanese grandee of the rank of a *gobanyosi*, the compliment of the former is not returned by the latter, he being esteemed an exceedingly friendly burgomaster or *gobanyosi*, who even nods his head to the Netherlander in token of approval. All this is the more striking to the Netherlander newly landed at Dezima, and not yet used to the custom, because he observes the Japanese to be amongst themselves full of ceremony and demonstrations of politeness, in which the nation yields to no other, not even to the French.

---

* See Note VIII.

"Another custom is worth observing. It is, that a Japanese grandee, from the rank of a *gobanyosi* upwards, never speaks directly to a Netherlander, but always through the medium of an interpreter. This might be supposed an unavoidable inconvenience, the parties being unable otherwise to understand each other; but such cannot be the cause. There have been plenty of presidents who, having applied diligently to the Japanese language, had acquired sufficient knowledge to express themselves intelligibly. There have even been some who, passing by the interpreters, have directly addressed the high Japanese dignitary, in Japanese; but in vain. The man made as though he understood him not, and referred him to the interpreter for what was to be said. I conclude hence, that this custom is a point of Japanese *etiquette*, not intended to do the highest honour to the Netherlanders; and I am confirmed in this suspicion by the increase in the number of intermediary speakers in the president's audiences of the governor. The governor speaks to his secretary, the secretary to the interpreter, the interpreter to the president; and reversing the order, the president to the interpreter, the interpreter to the secretary, and the secretary again to the governor.

"The *opperhoofd* (president) has two audiences every year of the governor of Nagasaki; the one on occasion of presenting the *fassak*, acknowledgment or tribute, which the Dutch government annually transmits to the Japanese rulers; the other on that of the sailing of the ships. This is the regulated dialogue always repeated on these occasions.

'ON OFFERING THE FASSAK.

'*The President.* It is in the highest degree gratifying to me to meet the Lord Governor in perfect health, and I congratulate him thereon. I also owe thanks for the assistance which his lordship has again this year afforded the Netherlanders in matters of trade, and, therefore, in the name of the Lord Governor-general of Batavia, are the goods offered as a present to his lordship, which, according to old custom, are destined for his lordship, and enumerated in the list that I have already delivered.

'*The Governor.* It is very agreeable to me to see the President well, on which, as well as on the happy despatch of matters of trade, I congratulate him, and accept thankfully the present that, according to old custom, is offered me in the name of the High Government of Batavia. As the time for the departure of the ships is now at hand, the President will have to take care that they are speedily in readiness to sail, and as soon as they are so ready, to make it known to the Governor.

'*The President.* It is an honour to me that the Lord Governor has accepted the present offered him. I shall take care that the ships are speedily ready for their departure, and not neglect to make it known to the Governor as soon as they are ready.

'The audience over, the president repairs to another room, and asks leave to pay a separate visit to the secretaries. The secretaries come, the usual compliment is paid, and the following short dialogue ensues:

'*The President.* It is gratifying to me to see Messrs. the Secretaries well, and I thank them for the trouble they have been good enough to take about the trade.

'*The first Secretary* (*in the name of both*). We also are glad to see the President well, and wish him so to continue.

'AT THE AUDIENCE OF DEPARTURE.

'*The President.* After having wished the Lord Governor his health, I make known to his lordship, that the day after to-morrow, the 20th, the ships will remove to the Papenberg; they being, thanks to the assistance afforded by the Lord Governor, ready to depart.

(In obedience to an imperial edict, the Dutch ships are bound to quit the harbour of Nagasaki, whether ready or not, on the 20th of the ninth Japanese month. They may, however, under colour of waiting for a fair wind, lie yet awhile at anchor under the Papenberg, and there take in what is still wanting of their cargo; although the moment their guns are re-embarked, they must set sail whatever be the weather. The audience of departure, therefore, always takes place on the 18th of the ninth Japanese month).

'*The Governor.* It is satisfactory to me that the ships are ready to sail, and the President is desired to let them depart on the coming 20th. I will now read what, according to the imperial commands, the President has to do further, and the President will listen attentively.

'*The President.* I thank the Lord Governor for the leave granted to depart, and will listen to the imperial commands.

(The Governor then reads in Japanese, and the interpreter in Dutch, a document, the purport of which is, that if the Dutch desire the continuance of their trade with Japan, they must neither bring Portuguese thither, nor hold intercourse with Portuguese, but make known to the Governor of Nagasaki whatever they can learn respecting Portuguese hostile designs against Japan, and must respect such Chinese junks as are bound for Japan, as well as all vessels belonging to the Loo Choo Islands, they being subject to Japan. This done, the dialogue is thus resumed:)

'*The Governor.* These imperial commands you will duly observe, and the President will moreover command the Netherlanders who remain behind to behave well.

'*The President.* I shall duly observe the imperial commands made known to me, and communicate them to the High Government at Batavia. Moreover, I will command the Netherlanders who remain behind to behave well.'

"The present always consists of a vessel of *sakee*, and of two trays, one of sea-fish, the other of sea-weed."—MEYLAN.

This may complete the sketch of life at Dezima; and a few words only need be added touching death there, which is permitted to the Dutch, though not to the Japanese. The grounds belonging to one specific temple are assigned to the factory, as their place of sepulture. They pay a yearly sum to the temple, but rather in the form of a gratuitous offering than as the price of their privilege. The forms of burial are, of course, not Christian; but the dead are treated with respect. he priests of the temple assigned to the Dutch perform the same rites at the funeral of the deceased stranger, and take the same care of his grave and monument, as though he had been their fellow-countryman and fellow-religionist.

CHAPTER III.

VISITS TO NAGASAKI AND ITS ENVIRONS.

Excursions permitted.—Drawbacks.—Town of Nagasaki.—Houses.—Gardens.—Fire-proof store-rooms.—Scenery.—Temples.—Tea-houses.—Education and extraordinary estimation of courtesans.—Visits.—Religious festivals.—Japanese Demons.—Hunting procession.—New Volcano.

It has been said, that the Dutch cannot pass either of the gates of Dezima without the express permission of the governor. This permission is, indeed, seldom, if ever, refused; but it is clogged with such conditions as tend to prevent its being indiscreetly solicited.

When any member of the factory wishes to obtain a little recreation or relief from the monotony of his seclusion at Dezima, he causes a petition, soliciting liberty to take a walk in Nagasaki and its environs, to be presented, four-and-twenty hours beforehand, to the governor, through the intervention of the proper interpreter. Leave is granted, provided the captive be accompanied by a certain number of interpreters, and of subaltern police-officers, called *banyoos*, as also by the *comprador*, whose business it is, upon the occasion, to defray whatever expenses or purchases the indulged foreigner may incur during the trip of pleasure. All these individuals are again attended by their several domestics, until the followers amount to twenty-five or thirty persons.

So cumbersome a train might seem in itself a sufficient drawback on the enjoyment of a ramble, especially when it is added, that all the boys within reach assemble and pursue the party wherever they go, incessantly shouting, *Holanda! Holanda!* or *Horanda! Horanda!* which appears to be the more usual pronunciation of the Japanese. But, even so, the train is still far from its complement. Every official attendant holds himself entitled to invite as many of his friends as he pleases to join the party, the whole of which the temporarily-liberated Dutchman is bound to entertain. Nor can the heavy expense, thus rendered inseparable from every excursion, be lightened by partnership; as, in case of two members of the factory obtaining a joint permission for a stroll, the number of attendants is doubled.

The usual objects of these expeditions are to explore the neighbouring country, to banquet in a temple, to ramble through the streets of Nagasaki, or to visit its tea-houses. Each of these demands a few words, and it may be best to begin with the town itself, through which, whatever be the excursion designed, the promenaders must pass.

Nagasaki spreads up the side of a hill: like every Japanese town, it is regularly built, and, as every house has its garden, large or small, offers a pleasing *coup d'œil.* The houses are low, none containing more than one good story, to which is added in some a sort of cockloft, in others a low basement. The height of the street-front, and even the number of windows, are determined by sumptuary laws. All are constructed of wood, and a mixture of clay and chopped straw, much resembling the *pisé* of Europe; but the walls are coated with a cement, that gives them the appearance of stone. In the windows, very fine and strong paper, unoiled, and protected from bad weather by external wooden shutters, supplies the place of glass. The windows to the street are further provided with Venetian blinds, and every house is encircled by a verandah, into which all the rooms open.

The front of the better class of houses is occupied by a large portico and entrance, where the palanquins, umbrellas, and shoes of visitors are left, where servants and persons on business wait, &c.; and which is connected with all the domestic offices. The back of the house is the part inhabited by the family, and it projects into the garden triangularly, for the benefit of more light and cheerfulness. These gardens, however diminutive, are always laid out in the landscape-garden style, with rocks, mountains, lakes, waterfalls, and trees, and uniformly contain a family chapel, or oratory. Absurd as such would-be pleasure-grounds may seem, when confined in extent, as must be the garden even of a wealthy householder in the heart of a city, this intermixture of verdure, nevertheless, contributes greatly to the airiness and gay aspect of the town itself. And we are told that the very smallest habitations possess similar gardens, yet more in miniature, sometimes consisting of what may be called the mere corners cut off from the triangular back of the house, with the trees in flower-pots.

But the most remarkable part of a Japanese dwelling is the provision against fire. To each belongs a detached store-room, or warehouse, such as those which Siebold mistook at a distance for the mansions of nobility. In these, tradesmen keep their stock of goods, and private families their most valuable effects, as pictures, books, collections of rarities, &c. These store-rooms are built of the same materials as the houses; but the whole woodwork, doors and roof included, is covered with a foot-thick coating of clay; the apertures for windows are closed with copper shutters; and, for further security, a large vessel of liquid mud is always at hand, with which to smear over every part of the building in case of danger; that is to say, in case one of the conflagrations for ever occurring amidst such combustible houses should break out in the neighbourhood, or the wind drive the sparks and flames of a distant fire in a menacing direction. These fire-proof store-rooms answer their purpose so well, that President Doeff, in describing a conflagration, which spread into such fearful vicinity to the bridge between Nagasaki and Dezima, that the governor allowed the scared inhabitants of the factory general egress by the water-gate, and which consumed eleven whole streets of Nagasaki, partially destroying others, explicitly states that not one of the store-rooms was injured. Neither did Dezima suffer; the flames having, at length, been extinguished, before they crossed the bridge. But to return to the excursions of the Dutchmen.

When the town is passed, the promenader comes upon exquisitely beautiful scenery, commanding, from innumerable different points, the most enchanting views over hill and dale, land and sea. Nay, so bewitching are said to be the various prospects which successively greet the eye in the course of every ramble, that the spectator, we are assured, entranced in their contemplation, entirely forgets every drawback upon their enjoyment. This is an indulgence that the Japanese are the more prompt to grant their guests, because they themselves fully sympathize in its delights, being passionate lovers of beautiful country and fine prospects.

A striking and somewhat peculiar mark of this prevalent taste is, that the most lovely sites are invariably selected for the temples. Of these temples, there are sixty-one within a short distance from Nagasaki, built as plainly and unornamentedly as the houses; like them, always encircled by a verandah, and often having many smaller temples, like chapels, surrounding the principal edifice. The whole, or the large temple, is called by Siebold, a *yasiro;* the smaller chapel-temples, *miyas.* Every *yasiro* stands upon a hill, commands a fine view, and is enclosed in a garden. These gardens are the habitual resort of parties of pleasure, whether Japanese or Dutch; and, for the further enjoyment of their picturesque attractions, to almost all temples are attached large rooms, apparently unconsecrated to the service of the divinity there worshipped. In these apartments, in places destitute of inns, travellers are accommodated, and the priests usually let them out as banquetting rooms; nay, even as the theatre of such orgies as seem most desecrating to any edifice connected, however remotely, with purposes of religion.

When a member of the factory indulges in an excursion, the whole party collected by his official companions must be feasted at his expense in one of these *yasiros.* He himself, however, is not always required to do the honours of his banquet, which thus affords him a short interval of comparative liberty. Whilst the police-officers are revelling with their friends on the good things the foreigner in their custody has provided for them, they are content to connive at his *nayboen* transgressions of the rigid laws of seclusion and separation. Thus, at such an opportunity, and only such, can a member of the factory ramble about with a single interpreter, enter the shops, and make purchases at his own pleasure.

Upon other occasions, the resort of the Dutchman and his whole party is to a tea-house—a licensed place of entertainment for drinking and music. But these amusements are not the only business of the tea-houses; and here it again becomes necessary to advert to a subject which it is revolting to every correct feeling, and almost a violation of self-respect, even to allude to; but some points of which are so extraordinary, so completely peculiar to the Japanese, that to pass them over in silence would be to omit one striking feature of this very singular nation.

The proprietors of the tea-houses are further licensed to purchase female infants of indigent parents for purposes of infamy. These girls act during their childhood as the servants of the full-grown inmates, but are, at the same time, educated with the utmost care; they are not only rendered skilful in every accomplishment that can enhance the effect of their personal charms, but their minds are sedulously cultivated, and enriched with all the stores of knowledge that can make their conversation attractive and agreeable. Thus, the whole body of these victims of the vices of others bear considerable resemblance to the few celebrated individuals amongst the courtesans of ancient Greece; and the resemblance holds good in another point, the consequence of the first. As we are told that Athenian husbands took their wives into the society of the notorious Aspasia, to share in the instruction they themselves derived from her; so in Japan do husbands invite their wives to join their party to the tea-houses, there to partake of the amusement afforded by the music, singing, dancing, and conversation of their intellectual, and highly accomplished, but unfortunate and dishonoured, sisters.

But the most extraordinary part of the whole is the position in the moral scale assigned to these degraded women by the Japanese, who are, in the general relations of life, to the full as tenacious of female purity as the nations by whom wives and daughters are kept under lock and key. Whilst their worthless purchasers, those shameless speculators in human depravity, the tea-house proprietors, are universally despised as the very scum of the earth, far more lenient is the appreciation of the purchased thralls, who may, indeed, be held guiltless of their own pollution, being destined to a temporary career of sin without their own concurrence :—a temporary career only, however, inasmuch as these girls are purchased for a term of years, and may be considered rather as apprentices than slaves for life. When the period for which they are bound to their disgraceful trade expires, they may return to their families, and are received into society in any station of which they show themselves worthy. Many enter the order, as it may be called, of Mendicant Nuns; still greater numbers are said to find husbands, and to emulate all the good qualities of the most immaculate Japanese wives and mothers. But whatever be the new condition of these ex-courtesans, it is solely by their conduct in the character of their choice that they are thenceforward judged, without any reference to their past, compelled occupation.

The number of tea-houses appears to be beyond all conception. The Dutch writers state that at Nagasaki, a town with a population of from sixty to seventy thousand souls, there are no less than 750; and that, upon the road to Yedo, the inns, almost invariably, either are houses of this description, or have such attached to them. It is from these houses that the Dutch factory obtain their female servants or companions.

But to dismiss this painful topic, and return the rambles of the Dutch. Their walk, and amusements above-mentioned, must terminate with the day, and sunset find them again in Dezima; a necessity from which no indulgence seems ever to exempt them; and, indeed, it may be concluded, from the various statements respecting ingress and egress, that the gates of the island are never, upon any occasion, opened during the hours, termed hours of the night, *i. e.* between sunset and sunrise.

An especial petition must be presented if a Dutchman wishes to visit a Japanese acquaintance, or is invited by any inhabitant of Nagasaki to partake of his hospitality, the ordinary permission to take a walk not sanctioning the foreigner's setting his foot in a private house. A similar form is necessary when the object is to witness any particular show or ceremony; and such petitions appear almost always granted, although upon one occasion a secret, or, according to the established Japanese practice, *nayboen*, view is spoken of.

Of the public sights that diversify the few amusements of the factory, the various and numerous religious festivals appear to be the principal; and of these the festival of the god Suwa, the patron *kami*, or deity of Nagasaki, seems the most remarkable. This local festival, which is the more brilliant from chancing to coincide in point of time with one of the annual religious festivals common to the whole realm, is of some days' duration, and begins, as might be expected, by devotional rites in the temple dedicated to Suwa. The temple, which is decorated with flags for the occasion, every body visits in the dress of ceremony, prays and makes the usual offering, greater or smaller, according to the means and rank of the individual, but always including a cup of *sakee.* The public solemnity consists in placing the image of the god, together with the most precious ornaments of the temple — of which, costly arms form an important part — in a shrine, magnificently gilt and lackered; which is then borne by the temple-servants in procession through the town, attended by the chief priests in palanquins or on horseback, and by a body of horsemen, deputed by the governor to honour the ceremony. Shrine, image, and treasures, are finally deposited in a straw hut, erected for the occasion in a large square, or clear space in the city; and here they remain as a public exhibition, the hut being open in front, although partially encircled with screens: and with this concludes, it should seem, the religious part of the festival.

Sports and scenic representations follow; the expense of which is defrayed in different years by the different streets and districts, or what we should call the wards, of the town. The rivalry of these different districts is most keen, with regard both to the costliness and splendour of the shows, and to the diligence and skill with which the children of the inhabitants, from seven to fourteen years of age, are trained to perform parts in the spectacle. Every district appears to send forth a train, or shall we say a lay procession, of its own, to which every street comprised therein contributes two or three juvenile, though practised, performers; and the course and performances of these several trains are thus described.

"First goes a monstrous, shapeless bulk of linen, fastened to a hoop, from which it hangs down to the ground. Of the man who carries it upon a bamboo, nothing can be seen but his feet; and mighty is the load he bears; first, in the magnitude of the embroidered cloth itself, amounting to not less than twelve ells; and further, in the ornaments that decorate the upper part of this grand pageant. For these ornaments, emblematic objects are selected, such as birds or beasts that are especially esteemed, some renowned man or celebrated woman, a forest covered with snow, the instruments of some trade, or something that alludes to the prosperity of the country, or even of the single street, or that recals the fame or the simplicity of the early Japanese. Next follow the musicians, in great numbers, playing upon drums, cymbals, and flutes, strangely attired, headed by the *ottona*, or chief local municipal officer, and accompanied by a number of servants belonging to the street. Then appears a train of children, representing some expedition of one of their *mikados*, or great heroes. This part of the show really merits admiration; clad and armed in the correct costume of the time, the leaders proceed in the utmost state, followed by the representatives of the whole court, male and female, displaying all the pomp and luxury of a Japanese court, and surpassing every conceivable idea of dainty nicety. Each of these trains is attended by a number of small palanquins and servants, to take up any of the children who may be fatigued. After these comes a company of actors: in an instant, two or three benches of equal size are placed side by side; upon them, a few screens and decorations; and, to the sound of *syamsies* (a sort of guitar, with three strings,) drums, and other musical instruments, the actors perform their play, which does not occupy more than a quarter of an hour, but is represented with great spirit and freedom, as well in language as in gesture and feeling. When this is over, a crowd of musicians, palanquins, servants, and family connexions of the children, follow, who close this train, and, moving forward, make way for the next.

"The first representation takes place before the already-mentioned straw hut, in honour of the god Suwa, and all round the square sit a crowd of spectators, amongst whom especial and separate scaffoldings are assigned to the members of Government and to the Hollanders, who are invited to assist at the festival. The representations take place at several appointed parts of the town; and the eleven or twelve trains always follow each other so regularly, that nothing like disorder occurs, notwithstanding the immense multitudes of people who attend this festival.

"When the first train presents itself at seven o'clock in the morning, it is usually noon before the last performs (at the straw hut, apparently); and until a late hour in the evening, these same trains are met in different quarters of the town; so that it may be supposed that the strength and powers of the children are severely tried. The festival lasts many days, but the 9th and 11th of the month (*i. e.* the first and third of the festival) are the most solemn, putting a stop to all business. The poorest artizan then appears as a gentleman, clad in his dress of ceremony; and all the houses are adorned, internally with carpets and screens, externally with hangings and awnings, under which friends entertain each other, making merry all day long, with eating, drinking, and music. Every street has to contribute to this expensive festival once in about five or six years, and it is inconceivable how the great waste is supported, as only a few trifling articles are ever used a second time, whilst every thing for dress and decorations is purchased new, and of the best materials. Thus was this religious solemnity, like every other in Japan, celebrated with universal demonstrations of joy, yet with such unanimity, mutual forbearance, delight and order, that one may well agree with the Japanese as to the impossibility of honouring or serving the gods more agreeably; and I may add, that so many and such various peculiarities belong to the *Matsuri* festival, as render a detailed and accurate description incompatible with the designed conciseness of this work."*

This, if it be the principal religious festival at Nagasaki, is by no means the only one calculated to relieve the tedium of life at Dezima. There are many, various in form and character, and some exceedingly whimsical. Indeed, of one of these exhibitions, it is hard to say whether it can be meant as a religious ceremony, or merely as an amusement. The former notion is, however, the most probable, from the circumstance of its being an annual festival, held throughout the empire, in the same style as it is witnessed by the Dutch at Nagasaki.

"I know not whether it be to do the devil honour or to jeer at him, that the Japanese, in their eighth month, take pleasure in contemplating a grotesque dance, performed in the streets by persons attired as demons, and duly horned and vizarded. These mummers have, besides, a drum hung about them, or are armed with a stick, with which, beating the drum, they make a prodigious noise, and mark the measure for their dance; but what most deserves mention is, that their dresses are of various colours — to wit, black, white, red, and green. It is well known that white men represent the devil as black, while the negroes make theirs white; but red and green devils are, I believe, wholly and solely Japanese. I long sought their reasons for these colours, and at length obtained the following explanation. Amongst the unlucky theological disputes that disturb all lands, one arose in Japan concerning the colour of the devil; one party affirming it to be black, a second white, a third red, and, finally a fourth declared that the fiendish hue was green. This difference of opinion seemed likely to produce a civil war, when the judicious idea was started of submitting the question to the Spiritual Emperor, the *Mikado*. The Son of Heaven, after a short deliberation, prevented the threatening evil, by declaring all parties to be in the right, and sanctioning the belief in devils indiscriminately black, white, red, and green. Since that time, the Japanese devils have adopted the four colours; and, thus tinted, dance once a year up and down the streets, to the great delight of the curious spectators, who, whilst they look on, no longer dream of menacing disputes."*

---

* Fischer.

Of the other religious festivals, it may suffice, omitting numbers, to say that, in every month there are two, somewhat analagous to our Sunday; that the grandest annual festival is New Year's-day, preceded by the imperative payment of every debt on New Year's-eve; that the prettiest is one in which lighted lanterns are launched at night upon the bay, to ascertain, by their fate, the destiny of the souls of deceased relatives and friends; the queerest, one in which men, holding high official situations, and of advanced years, busy themselves in flying kites, the strings being thickly covered with broken glass, and great interest attached to the cutting the string of a rival's kite; and the most absurd, one in which the foul fiend is simultaneously expelled from every house, by dint of pelting him with boiled peas, according to Meylan; with stones, according to Fischer.

It has been stated, that the Nagasaki shows can sometimes be seen only underhand by the strangers of the factory. Of the show which we are told was thus beheld, it is not easy to say whether it were civil or military. It was called a hunting procession of the governor's; but Fischer considers it rather as a sort of review; and if his excellency were, indeed, only bent on the chase, his equipage might well be termed a hunting procession, or a state hunting, either of which versions the Dutch expression will bear. And either as a hunting party or a military evolution, it is so original as well in its composition as in the sort of mystery purposely attached to it, and in both so characteristic of Japan, as to be worth extracting, notwithstanding the inevitable dryness of a procession *programme*.

---

* Meylan.

"We were permitted privately to see the train pass through Nagasaki. Such expeditions take place from time to time at Yedo, and probably at other towns of the empire, as well as at Nagasaki. They are called state-huntings; but I have grounds for rather calling them military inspections, inasmuch as the whole train were in warlike equipment, and, besides the weapons used in the chase, a number of men had heavy guns, likewise badges of distinction, as though they were taking the field. It was an awe-inspiring scene; every one sympathized therein, even whilst satisfying his curiosity; but the majority gazed in silent respect, by which means the march proceeded with the utmost order. The streets and roads were neatly swept; scarcely any one was seen in the street, and every body lurked peeping behind the blinds, or the flags and hangings that decorated the houses. When the approach of the procession was announced, a general earnest charge was given to refrain from laughter, and from any demonstration that could create disturbance, or betray a want of respect. First walked four men with brooms, such as always precede the retinue of a great lord, in order to admonish the people with cries of '*Stay, stay!*' which means, 'Sit, or bow you down.' Their brooms are to clear away loose stones, or any thing else that might obstruct the march.

The van was led by

Eight huntsmen, with matchlocks* and lighted matches; all wearing flat lackered hats, a short upper garment of green calico, with a coat-of-arms on the breast, a sash of brownish ribbon, wide trousers, sandals bound to the feet, and a single short sword.

A *gobanyosi*, being one of the governor's council, or clerks, dressed like the preceding, only in silk, and having two swords.

Three servants in succession, carrying, the first a pike, the second two chests of clothes, the third two baskets of rain-proof cloaks.

Three servants, each wearing two swords.

Five under police-officers, with two swords each.

Nine *Ottonas*, or municipal superintendents of districts, walking three and three, dressed in silk with flat lackered hats, and each two swords.

---

* See Note IX.

Eighteen of their attendants, in coloured linen, with flat straw hats.

Seventy-two huntsmen, with matchlocks and lighted matches, in couples, not following each other closely, but at intervals of six feet.

The bailiff of a neighbouring village, towards which the march led, in the usual dress of ceremony.

Five servants.

Ten huntsmen, with matchlocks and lighted matches, in green linen upper dresses and brown lackered hats, leading four hounds by white cords.

Two directors of the imperial rice-magazines, in brown silk upper garments and black lackered hats, each wearing two swords.

Six servants of theirs, simply armed with swords.

The commandant of the town-guard, magnificently attired, sitting on a horse, which two servants led by the bridle, (the usual mode of riding in Japan).

Six huntsmen with metal blunderbusses.

The commandant's son.

A man carrying a massive Japanese weapon of about 50 lb. Dutch-weight, which the commandant is wont to hurl with a steady hand. I have since had an opportunity of examining this weapon closely, and found the account to be no fable; the officer in question attained his present rank in consequence of his extraordinary bodily strength.

Ten huntsmen, with blunderbusses of extraordinary size, all nicely kept, and carried in stately guise, each by two men.

Fifteen men with common blunderbusses.

Twenty-four men with large blunderbusses.

Twelve servants.

A short interval divided these from

A banner-bearer, preceding

The Burgomaster Tukasima Sirobe Sama, also commissioner of the imperial treasury, on horseback, in an upper robe of gold stuff, and a brown lackered hat, with golden arms, his horse led by two foot soldiers, and followed by

Ten servants.

A man bearing a long pike, its steel head incased in a beautifully lackered sheath.

An embroidered flag,

Six huntsmen with blunderbusses.

The Burgomaster Yaksizi Kuizaymon Sama, on horseback.

Two servants.

The burgomaster's son.

Four huntsmen with beautiful bows and arrows.

Six servants, armed only with swords.

The son of Burgomaster Seyemon Sama.

Two huntsmen with bows and arrows.

Twenty-seven huntsmen with matchlocks and lighted matches.

Eight servants with swords.

A *gobanyosi*, or privy counsellor of the governor.

Four servants.

A pike-bearer.

A servant with two lackered clothes-chests.

A servant with two rain-cloak baskets.

Thirty huntsmen, all under police-officers, with matchlocks and lighted matches.

Six body-servants of the governor, each armed with two swords.

A flag, embroidered with gold letters on a white ground.

Ten servants, each bearing a long pike, adorned with a lackered sheath and silk tassels.

Forty-eight officials and servants, dressed in silk or linen, each having two swords.

Eight servants with clothes-boxes.

Four ditto with ditto, of fine basket-work.

Two cases of armour, square cabinets, with magnificent covers, embroidered in gold, each case carried by two men.

Two magnificently lackered sword-cases, adorned in the like beautiful style, and each carried by one man.

A *tchabinto*, or tea-equipage, consisting of two cases hanging on the opposite ends of a pole, the one containing fire and a kettle of hot water, the other the remaining requisites for drinking tea at any moment.

Two men carrying a lackered pail, water-scoop, and halter for the governor's horse.

A saddle horse with beautiful trappings, led by two foot soldiers.

Fourteen servants, each with two swords.

Eight servants with rain-cloak baskets.

Six servants, each with clothes-boxes.

Three servants, each with two swords.

The *gokaro*, or governor's secretary, on horseback.

Four bearers, each with two clothes-chests.

Four ditto, with two rain-cloak baskets.

Six servants, each with two swords.

Four ditto, with long pikes.

An ornament with feathers, like the governor's, (to be presently described) but less costly.

The Burgomaster Fizamats Kify Sama, on horseback.

Two huntsmen with matchlocks and lighted matches.

A pike-bearer.

Two rain-cloak basket-bearers.

The governor's palanquin, carried by two men, six other bearers running on either side, all stout, bold men, dressed in blue linen, each a sword by his side, and a coloured fan stuck in his girdle at his back.

Twenty-seven huntsmen with bows and arrows.

A *gobanyosi*, or clerk of the governor.

Five servants, each with two swords.

A pike-bearer.

A clothes-chest bearer.

A rain-cloak basket-bearer.

Ten huntsmen, armed.

Three ditto, with blunderbusses.

Three ditto, with hunting-horns.

One ditto, with a great drum, beautifully lackered, gilt, and adorned with silk tassels.

A civil-officer with two swords.

A *gobanyosi*, as before.

Five servants with swords.

A pike-bearer.

A clothes-chest bearer, as before.

Two rain-cloak basket-bearers.

An ornament, or mark of distinction, shaped like a broom, with beautiful feathers, and a flag of white cloth, embroidered with gold cyphers, attached to it.

Two long pikes, with sheaths of embroidered red cloth, hung with silk tassels.

A state bow, in a yellow silk case.

Two long pikes, magnificently adorned, like the preceding.

A banner with gold letters on a red ground.

A *gobanyosi*, or cabinet secretary to the governor.

An interval of some paces, then

The Governor of Nagasaki, Mamya Tsikfoezien No Cami Sama, riding a splendidly caparisoned horse, with two foot soldiers on either side. He was magnificently dressed in a garment of gold and silver cloth, on his head a lackered helmet, that glittered with silver edges, and a coat-of-arms in gold: he wore two swords, and his staff of office was stuck in his girdle at his back. His deportment, like that of his whole retinue, was grave and haughty, and, above all, so profound a stillness now prevailed, that one might rather have supposed oneself in an uninhabited street, than in a place where so many thousands of spectators were congregated.

The governor's banner, with gold letters embroidered on a blue ground.

Five pike-bearers.

Eleven servants, each wearing two swords.

Fourteen huntsmen with matchlocks and lighted matches.

The treasurer, Takaki Sakyemon, on horseback, and expensively attired.

Two servants, next the horse.

The treasurer's son, on horseback.

Twelve servants, each with two swords.

A considerable train of servants, carrying clothes-chests and other necessaries, all in regular order.

"And this is the train of a governor of Nagasaki, who, although invested there with supreme authority, at Yedo, at the *Ziogoon's* court, hardly enjoys the honour of carrying his Majesty's slippers."*

These various shows seem pretty nearly to exhaust all that can be said of the recreations permitted to the Dezima Dutch at Nagasaki, unless the earthquakes and volcanic eruptions, that occasionally vary the monotony of their existence, be reckoned as such. The former, indeed, though general and frequent throughout the empire, and causing quite sufficient damage in both town and island—as, for instance, in the year 1825 Dezima suffered materially—seldom appear to engage the thoughts of the Europeans, if they are not combined with volcanic eruptions. They afford, nevertheless, the grounds alleged for the restrictions imposed upon the architectural taste of the Japanese, with respect to both the height and solidity of their buildings. Volcanic eruptions (the formation of the islands is generally volcanic, the number of volcanos, extinct or active, considerable) appear to be, in their estimation, more important. So recently as the year 1792, a new volcano

* Fischer.

manifested its formidable character in the island of Kiusiu. The first eruption, or rather series of eruptions and earthquakes, of this mountain, named the Wunzen, spread terror and desolation around; and, according to the description given of its terrific display of volcanic nature, might well fill every bosom with dread.

"At five o'clock in the afternoon of the 18th of the first month, the summit of the Wunzen suddenly sank, and smoke and vapour burst forth. On the 6th of the following month, an eruption occurred in the Brivonokubi mountain, situate on its eastern declivity, not far from the summit. Oh the 2d of the third month, a violent earthquake, felt all over Kiusiu, so shook Simabara, that no one could keep his feet. Terror and confusion reigned. Shock followed shock, and the volcano incessantly vomited stones, ashes, and lava, that desolated the country for miles around. At noon on the 1st of the fourth month, another earthquake occurred, followed by reiterated shocks, more and more violent. Houses were overthrown, and enormous masses of rock, rolling down from the mountain, crushed whatever lay in their way. When all seemed quiet and the danger was believed to be over, sounds, like the roar of artillery, were heard in the air and underground, followed by a sudden eruption of the Myokenyama, on the northern slope of the Wunzendake. A large part of this mountain was thrown up into the air, immense masses of rock fell into the sea, and boiling water, bursting through the crevices of the exploded mountain, poured down, overflowing the low shore. The meeting of the two waters produced a phenomenon that increased the general terror. The whirling eddies formed waterspouts, that annihilated all they passed over. The devastation wrought in the peninsula of Simabara, and the opposite coast of Figo, by these united earthquakes and eruptions of the Wunzendake, with its collateral craters, is said to be indescribable. In the town of Simabara, every building was thrown down except the castle, of which the cyclopean walls, formed of colossal blocks of stone, defied the general destruction. The coast of Figo was so altered by the ravages, as to be no longer recognizable. Fifty-three thousand human beings are said to have perished on this occasion."*

This formidable mountain is apparently within two days' journey of Dezima and Nagasaki, though nothing is said of material ravages wrought there at the time in question; and it must be supposed to have remained since the year 1792 in a state of moderate action, if not of complete quiescence, or some of the Dutch residents would assuredly have spoken of the alarm excited by its terrors. It should, however, be added that the hot springs connected with the Wunzendake, are said to have been the scene and means of one variety of the tortures inflicted upon native Christians; and we are told, that the sores produced by pouring the naturally boiling water over them were, from the peculiarity of its sulphureous quality, singularly envenomed. The volcano must, therefore, even then have been in what may be called latent activity, although it had not yet exhibited its most terrific energies.

---

* Siebold.

CHAPTER IV.

PERIODICAL JOURNEY TO YEDO.

Periods of the Yedo journeys. — Preliminary forms. — Numbers of the party. — Honours paid to the Dutch President. — Array of the party. — Travelling arrangements. — Sights upon the journey. — *Ikko-seu* Temple. — Camphor tree. — Mineral and hot springs. — Prince of Tsikuzen's apartment. — Coal mine. — Mode of obtaining a fair wind. — Examination at Aray. — River Oyegawa. — Mountain Foesi. — Examination at Fakone. — Anecdote. — Arrival.

To offer homage and presents, or tribute, annually to the *ziogoon*, or military chief of the empire, at Yedo, his habitual residence and the actual seat of government, is, if not the highest duty of every prince, dignitary, and noble throughout the Japanese realm, certainly an act, the neglect of which would be deemed most unpardonable; and it was as a sort of dignitary—being the governor of his own countrymen resident in Japan—that this duty was imposed upon the head of the Dutch factory, when the charter, permitting them to establish a factory, was first granted. This charter, obtained from the successful usurper, Gongen-

Sama, whilst they were settled at Firato, gave them, as before intimated, great privileges, which they afterwards forfeited by their ignorance of Japanese laws and customs. Upon Gongen-Sama's death, they petitioned his son and successor for a confirmation of his father's grant. Such an application was unprecedented in Japan. It was not merely a violation of the respect due to the *ziogoon*, but a positive insult, since asking him to confirm his father's act implied the apprehension that he might alter or rescind it: an offence against filial duty and reverence, such as no Japanese son conceives to be even possible. The Dutch were accordingly punished for their distrust. Their petition was not rejected, but the new charter granted them very greatly reduced their privileges.

For upwards of a century, the Dutch head of the factory repaired annually, with a large retinue of Dutch as well as of Japanese, to Yedo, and offered his tribute and his homage at the foot of the throne. But gradually the trade between Japan and Batavia fell off, and these annual journeys were felt burthensome; they were, consequently, rendered less frequent, and, since the year 1790, have been limited to every fourth year. But the presents of the Dutch, being esteemed of more value than their homage, were not to be so easily dispensed with; and these are duly transmitted during the three intermediate years by means of the interpreters, at a much less expense. Since the restoration of Java to the Dutch upon the general peace, however, it appears that the trade of the factory has much revived; whereupon *Opperhoofd* Blomhoff solicited permission to visit Yedo every alternate year; but his request was rejected by the *ziogoon's* government.

The preparations for the Yedo journey are long and formal. When the regular time of departure draws near, the *opperhoofd* makes a communication to the governor of Nagasaki, through the proper official channel, respectfully inquiring whether a visit from him will be acceptable at Yedo. The governor replies that the *opperhoofd's* homage will be accepted, and desires him to provide for the maintenance of order in the factory during his absence. The warehouse-master, as next in rank and authority to the *opperhoofd*, is always the person selected to supply the place of the absent head; and, as deputy-manager of the factory, is always presented to the governor by the *opperhoofd*, at his audience of leave,* prior to his departure.

Originally, the head of the factory was attended to Yedo by twenty of his countrymen; a goodly train, which, it is needless to say, can no longer be supplied by a factory reduced to its present scale. The numbers of the retinue have been gradually reduced, probably in proportion with the factory;

---

* See Note X.

and, since the journey has been rendered quadrennial instead of annual, the Dutch visitors have been limited to three, namely, the *opperhoofd* himself, his secretary, and his physician.

The numbers of the Japanese who accompany the Dutch are not thus confined. At the head of the whole is a principal police-officer (a *gobanyosi,*) with whom rests, in every respect, the whole conduct of the expedition. The purse, however, is not in his hands, but in those of the chief interpreter, who receives a sum of money intended to defray the whole expense of the expedition, which sum is, like other factory debts, deducted from the proceeds of the next sale, or rather from that of a lot of goods specifically appropriated to this object, but never producing what is sufficient to cover the expense; the remainder is supplied by the Japanese Government — a circumstance that may explain the refusal to admit of more frequent visits to Yedo. Of persons of inferior rank, there are under-police-officers, under-interpreters, clerks, baggage-masters, superintendents of bearers, &c.; in all, about thirty-five persons, every one individually appointed by the governor. Then there are attendants to wait upon all these Dutch and Japanese; to wit, three cooks, — two for the Dutch, one for the Japanese—two upper and five under servants, besides thirty-two servants, of whom six are likewise for the Dutch. These last are usually called spies; and again it must be observed that spies officially known, cannot be those upon whom a government, that, as it will be seen in a subsequent chapter, may really provoke the coining of such a word as *spyocracy*, relies for information. In addition to these, and to the native attendants allotted them, each of the three Dutchmen may, if he pleases, at his own especial charge, take a Japanese physician, a private interpreter, and more servants. Accordingly, Dr. von Siebold, when, in the year 1826, he accompanied *Opperhoofd* Colonel van Sturler to Yedo, added to the train a young native physician, an artist, and six servants, to aid his naturalist researches. A Japanese pupil of the German doctor's, not being permitted to attend his instructor in that character, followed him as a servant to one of the interpreters. In fact, no restrictions appear to exist respecting the numbers of Japanese that may, upon this occasion, be engaged and supported by the foreign traders; but the name of every individual must be previously submitted to the Governor of Nagasaki's approbation: one object of which arrangement may probably, be, to insure there being a due proportion of unsuspected spies amongst the servants.

Every sort of convenience and comfort required by the principal travellers during the journey they must take with them, such as linen, bedding, tables and chairs for the Europeans, table-service, *batterie de cuisine*, &c. &c. They likewise take some provisions, as wine, cheese, butter, and the like, which, not being in use in Japan, are sent from Batavia to the factory; and also sweetmeats, cakes, and liqueurs, of which an immense stock appears requisite, to entertain Japanese visitors. When to these indispensables are added the wardrobe of the whole company, the presents destined as well for the *ziogoon* as for the several great men entitled to such a tribute of respect, and the goods carried for underhand trading; and when it is further understood that, the Japanese roads not always admitting of wheel carriages, carts are not used for the conveyance of this baggage, but every thing is carried by men, or on pack-horses and oxen—some idea may be formed of the immense number of bearers, attendants upon beasts of burthen, &c. &c., required for this journey. Part of the baggage is, indeed, sent by sea from Nagasaki to a port of the larger northern island, Nippon, in which are situated the residences of both the autocrat by right divine, the *mikado*, and his vicegerent, the *ziogoon ;* but when the Dutch deputation likewise lands on Nippon, this portion of the baggage joins the rest, and, upon the subsequent land-journey to Yedo, the train often amounts to two hundred persons. Such a retinue sounds abundantly grand and cumbrous to English ears, and may induce a reader to think that the position and dignity of the factory president has been unduly depreciated. Far different is the effect of his travelling-array to Japanese eyes. The trains with which the princes of the empire visit Yedo amount in number to ten thousand men for those of the lowest rank, and twenty thousand for those of the highest; whence it will be seen that his retinue of two hundred persons does not very extravagantly exalt the mercantile foreigner.

The journey to Yedo is, nevertheless, the occasion upon which the European dignitary enjoys the most honourable distinctions ever conceded to him, and the least liberty — a privation which, in Japan, invariably accompanies honours — and all the writers who describe it concur in asserting that, upon the road, he is treated with the full complement of respect shown to princes. He travels in a *norimono;* but, to enable the English reader to estimate justly this honour, it must be explained that there are in Japan two kinds of palanquins, called, the one a *norimono,* for the higher, the other a *cago,* for the lower ranks; and that these again, especially the *norimonos,* are subdivided, and allotted to different classes of dignities, according to the length and shape of the poles, the mode of holding them, the pace and number of the bearers, and the like: the whole class being in shape and form, something between a palanquin and a sedan-chair, less roomy and commodious than the former — inasmuch as they are too short to admit of the traveller's lying down—but far more so than the latter. The sides are lackered, the windows can be closed with blinds, and the top is in the shape of a house-roof, under the ridge of which the pole appears to be passed. Now, the *opperhoofd* travels in a *norimono* of the kind confined to very high rank, beside which is borne the tea-equipage already described —an indulgence restricted nearly, if not wholly, to personages sufficiently exalted to be entitled to use a *norimono* of this description. He remains in his *norimono* where all others, princes and imperial governors excepted, are obliged to alight and walk. The *gobanyosi* every morning asks his pleasure as to the halts for dining and sleeping; although these being fixed by invariable custom, the answer is immaterial, and Siebold says, that were any change desired, it must be arranged beforehand at Nagasaki. The three Dutch travellers are lodged in inns of the first class, frequented by princes, governors, and nobles, or, where there are none such at the halting-place, in temples, whilst the Japanese officials, even those most consequential, occupy second-rate inns, except at such large towns as Ohosaka and Miyako, where, probably, for the closer custody of the foreigners, the police-officers are quartered in the same inns with the Dutch. Every where the *opperhoofd* is received by his host in full-dress, with the national compliment of welcome; and finally, men, women, and children, upon the road, either perform a salutation closely resembling the Chinese *kotoo* in his honour, or turn their back upon him—a somewhat singular Japanese demonstration of reverence, designed to intimate that the person so turning away is unworthy to look upon the person turned from. This last mark of reverence is described by the Swede Thunberg, who adds, that the highest possible expression of respect is, first to *kotoo,* and then to turn the back.

These are asserted to be the identical honours paid to princes; but lest too lofty a conception of the station of a Dutch factory president should be formed from this statement, it becomes necessary to explain, from Siebold, that these honours are paid him, not in that character, nor, as Fischer would fain persuade his readers and himself, as the representative of the Dutch nation, but simply as somebody, however lowly, about to be glorified by admission into the presence of the *ziogoon.*

The journey is divided into three portions — to wit, the land-journey across the island of Kiusiu, which occupies about seven days; the sea-voyage, through a sort of archipelago of small islands to Nippon, occupying from four or seven to fourteen days, partly as the wind favours or opposes, partly as the travellers are disposed and suffered to loiter at their nightly island quarters; and the second land-journey, across Nippon to Yedo, occupying twenty-two or twenty-three days of actual travelling, besides those spent at Ohosaka and Miyako. The whole journey from Dezima to Yedo is estimated at 345 leagues, and is usually performed in about seven weeks. The itinerary is very circumstantially given by every writer who has been of the party, but can only in a very few of the details be interesting to European readers. The form and appearance of the body of travellers is, from its dissimilarity to any thing European, one of these points, and is described by Fischer and Siebold, who respectively visited Yedo in 1822 and 1826.

The presents lead the way, duly escorted, and are followed by the baggage. Then, at a proper interval, comes the living procession.

A baggage-master and superintendent of bearers go first, and are followed by two inferior police-officers, or *banyoos,* in *norimonos* of the lowest class (Doeff says in *cagos*), but each attended by his servant, and two bearers of clothes-chests. And here it may be stated, to avoid prolixity and repetitions, that every *norimono* and *cago* is accompanied and attended by all the servants belonging to its occupant, and the number of bearers of clothes-chests and rain-cloak baskets appropriate to his rank.

A clerk of the interpreters. Then come the vice under-interpreter, and the under-interpreter, in their *cagos*, properly attended.

The Dutch physician, preceded by his medicine-chest, and borne in a *norimono* of somewhat superior character to those before-mentioned.

The secretary in a similar *norimono*.

A superintendent of *norimonos*.

Two superintendents of bearers.

The Dutch president, with eight bearers, who relieve each other, and whose dresses are adorned with the initials of the United Netherland (*i.e.* Dutch) East India Company, U. N. O. C.

A servant, carrying shoes and slippers in a leathern box.

The *Tchao-binto*, or tea equipage.

A bearer with a seat.

The president's counting-house, as it is called; a sort of cabinet, or scrutoire, of black lacker work, ornamented with silver, and covered with a red cloth, upon which the initials of the Dutch East India Company are embroidered in gold. Originally the charter granted by the *ziogoon* to the Dutch was carried in this cabinet; but that document is now left at Dezima, (thus does change occur even in the immutable East,) and its former sacred receptacle serves for the president's papers or other valuables. It is borne by three men.

Two couple of clothes-chests, containing the changes of raiment required by the president upon the road.

Two couple of the same for the secretary and the physician.

Two bearers with rain-cloak baskets.

The chief interpreter in his *norimono,* followed by his money chest, his clothes-chests, and his rain-cloak baskets.

The *gobanyosi,* in his *norimono,* with his attendants.

A pike-bearer.

A chest of armour.

Clothes boxes and cloak baskets.

The third *banyoos,* who with some servants, either in *cagos* or on foot, and the rest of the luggage closes the train.

At all the regular stages throughout Japan, there are, we are told, supplies of bearers to be hired by travellers after the manner of post-horses; but upon the Dutch journey to Yedo, these relays are not used. Bearers are engaged for certain fixed portions of the journey, *e.g.* one set carries the party and the luggage across the island of Kiusiu. These men perform their day's work, which is occasionally of not less than seventeen hours, without any appearance of over-fatigue, take a hot bath upon reaching the sleeping-station, and are ready by daybreak next morning to resume their burthens.

In the days of Kæmpfer, it seems that the Governor of Nagasaki was in the habit of visiting or meeting the Dutch president at the moment of his departure, to wish him a prosperous journey. He now contents himself with sending him a message to that effect; but if numbers can compensate for dignity, the want of his personal presence can be but little felt, as every Japanese officially connected with the factory, or acquainted with any of the travellers, meets them at a temple just without Nagasaki, or accompanies them thither, there to drink a farewell cup of *sakee* with them.

During the journey through Kiusiu, the whole party are entertained by the respective princes whose dominions they traverse. A detachment of the troops of each prince meets them on his frontiers, compliments the Dutch president in the prince's name, and escorts him across the principality. At Kokura, a sea-port of Kiusiu, where they embark, they leave their own palanquins, of all descriptions, to await their return. On the voyage, they land every night to sleep; and here again they are entertained at the cost of the several princes to whom the different islands belong. The wind was unfavourable to Fischer's voyage, in consequence of which he was long detained amongst these small islands, and saw more than usual of the inhabitants, who endeavoured to make the time of the Dutch travellers pass as agreeably as the orders of the *gobanyosi* would allow. Indeed, this officer himself, and the chief interpreter, appear to be generally disposed to indulge their foreign charge as far as they can, and to do the honours of their country to them, by showing the lions, as it is familiarly called; and Siebold expresses his conviction, that the dissatisfaction and complaints of the Dutch originate, almost invariably, in either their ignorance or their economy. The sum of money received by the interpreter for the journey being calculated precisely to defray it, as prescribed by custom, it is evident that any extra expenditure, incurred by a deviation from the road, or by a prolonged stay, where the party is not entertained by a prince, would fall upon himself, if not provided for by the Dutch. That he should voluntarily incur such expense, it would be absurd to expect; but the German physician is satisfied, by his own experience, that, if so provided for and mentioned in time, many indulgences of this kind might be enjoyed. Yedo must, however, be reached by a fixed time, the reason of which will be seen hereafter.

The roads are, generally speaking, good, and sufficiently wide for the passage even of such travelling retinues as have been described. It is the very mountainous character of the country, where a plain is scarcely to be found, and the practice of forming the roads over the mountains in steps up and down, that impedes the progress of wheel-carriages. The roads are commonly bordered by trees. They are constantly swept clean, as much by the diligence of the peasantry in collecting manure, as in honour of distinguished travellers; and the sides are thronged with manufactures and sellers of straw shoes for horses and oxen. This is the only kind of shoe used for these animals, and its rapid consumption affords ample occupation to numbers.

It may be added, that road-books, containing every species of information important to travellers, down to a very minutely accurate table of rates, charges, and prices, for bearers, at inns, ferries, &c., abound in Japan.

The sights exhibited to the Dutch travellers on their way to Yedo are usually natural curiosities, hot and mineral springs, with their respective bathing establishments, temples, fine prospects, &c.; the last of which are very commodiously enjoyed, as wherever any point commands a prospect celebrated for its beauty, if there be no temple, with its banqueting rooms, a tea-house is almost certain to be found. Interesting and agreeable as all these objects may be to the visitor of

Japan, a very few of them will, probably, satisfy the European reader.

Nothing in the journey across Kiusiu appears to have impressed Siebold more than his visit to a Buddhist temple of the *Ikko-seu* sect, at Yagami, where the party dined the day they left Nagasaki. It presented a rare instance of a Buddhist temple, that may be called exempt from idols, containing only a single image, designed to represent the One only God, Amida. The bonzes of this sect are the only Buddhist priests in Japan allowed to marry and to eat meat. Their faith Siebold considers to be pure monotheism.

A camphor-tree, mentioned by Kæmpfer, A.D. 1691, as already celebrated for its size, hollow from age, and supposed to measure six fathoms in circumference, though from its standing on a hill it was not then actually measured, was visited by Siebold in 1826. He found it still healthy, and rich in foliage, though 135 years older. He and his pupils measured it, and he gives 16·884 metres (about fifty feet) as its circumference, adding, in confirmation of this enormous size, that fifteen men can stand in its inside.

At Tsuka-sake is a celebrated hot-spring, with a bathing establishment for invalids. Colonel van Sturler and his party were permitted to bathe in the Prince of Fizen's own bath, and were much struck by the superlative cleanliness of the whole;

as an instance of which, the doctor states that the water, although clear as crystal, was made to pass through hair sieves into the bath, to guard against the possible introduction of any impurity. Whilst speaking of princely establishments, it may be added, that the same party passed a night in a country-palace of the Prince of Tsikuzen, where his highness's own apartment was assigned to the Colonel. This apartment consisted only of an ante-room and a bed-chamber, which last, like most others in Japan, became a sitting-room when the bedding was stowed away in a chest for the day—an operation of no great difficulty, the said bedding consisting only of a thin mattrass for each person; except, indeed, a wooden pillow, or rather bolster, upon which a wadded pillow or cushion is laid. This bolster is fashioned into a tiny chest of drawers, the established receptacle of small and highly-valuable articles. The walls of the Prince of Tsikuzen's rooms are of cedar-wood, highly polished and coloured; the division between them is made by screens, of gilt paper, in gilt and lackered frames, removable at pleasure. The apartment opens into a garden, containing, as usual, a small *miya*, or chapel. But the chief peculiarities of the apartment were, first, a cleanliness and neatness perfectly luxurious; and next, its great modesty and smallness, considered as destined for the occupation of a reigning prince;

but principally, a large closet, more resembling a cage, formed out of a corner of the ante-room, in which the chamberlain in attendance is condemned habitually to pass his hours alone — there, unseen and unobtrusive, waiting and watching for his highness's commands.

But, perhaps, the most important object mentioned by any traveller in Kiusiu is the coal, of which Siebold speaks, as in use. At Koyanose, he saw a coal-fire, which must have been most acceptable, as the journey is always begun in February, when the country, he says, wore its winter garb; and he frequently mentions frost. He visited a coal-mine at Wuku-moto, and though not allowed to descend the shaft more than half-way, or about sixty steps, he saw enough to satisfy him that the mine was well and judiciously worked. The upper strata, which he saw, were only a few inches thick, but he was told that the lower beds were of many feet, and he says that the blocks of coal drawn up confirm the statement. The coal, being bituminous in its nature, appears to be made into coke for use; and, perhaps, independent of this reason, it may be more agreeable in that form to persons whose more general fuel is charcoal.

The voyage from Kiusiu affords little worth dwelling upon; except, indeed, the measure which, in 1822, when contrary and tempestuous winds so unusually prolonged the passage, the Japanese sailors adopted, in order to obtain favourable weather. These and their result are too national to be omitted. The mariners flung overboard a small barrel of *sakee*, and a certain number of copper coins, as a sacrifice to the god Kompira. The money of course sank, and thus it is to be hoped found its intended way to the deity it was destined to propitiate; but the barrel floated, and was picked up by some fishermen. Does the reader suspect the finders of drinking this favourite and readily intoxicating liquor? He would do them great injustice. They well knew the meaning of the act, and honestly carried the offering to the proper temple.

Upon landing to begin their journey across Nippon, the travellers find palanquins and all other requisites, in lieu of those left at Kokura, and set forward. The first place of any note that they reach is Ohosaka, one of the five great imperial cities, and a chief emporium of internal trade. But although the travellers rest here a day or two, they are not allowed to see any thing on their way to Yedo. The numerous visits they receive, especially from physicians and their patients, are all paid underhand. Even the presents destined for the Governor of Ohosaka cannot now be offered, but are left in deposit in the town, to be given when the giver, having had his audience of the *ziogoon*, shall be authorized to show his liberality. The only lawful use they can make of their sojourn is, to order goods to be manufactured for them against their return.

A journey of a day and a half brings the party to Miyako, the nominal capital of the empire, as being the seat of the *dairi*, or court of the autocrat *mikado*. Here, likewise, they are allowed a brief rest, yet more strictly immured than at Ohosaka, and more numerously visited, for the most part underhand, but openly by the secretaries of some official personages, with compliments of welcome. The presents provided for those Miyako grandees who are entitled to them are left in deposit, as in the former case; a passport is obtained from the grand judge, who resides here as the *ziogoon's* representative at the *mikado's* court, and the longest and most arduous portion of the journey begins.

Between Miyako and Yedo, the nobles of the country, with their troops of attendants, are frequently met; and after some days' travelling, occasionally a prince, with his host. The princes are not earlier encountered because they avoid passing through Miyako, where every member of the *dairi* is esteemed their superior. The Dutch caravan gives way only to princes; and it is somewhat remarkable that no mention is made of inconvenience of any kind from the collision of such large bodies of travellers, either on the road or in the inns: a consequence, it might be supposed, of much previous arrangement and great uniformity in all their proceedings, did not the casualties of a sea-voyage oppose this idea.

Half-way between the two capitals is a shallow lake, on the Miyako shore of which stands the town of Aray, the station of the great Yedo guard. So important is this post esteemed, that the prince in whose dominions it lies, and whose troops furnish the guard, is almost invariably a member of the Council of State. No one may pass Aray towards Yedo without the grand judge's passport. No woman can pass without the most especial permission; and, therefore, besides the examination of their papers and baggage to guard against the introduction of contraband goods, travellers are obliged to submit to a personal inquest, lest a woman should be smuggled through in male attire; a crime, the perpetration of which would infallibly cost the lives of the offending woman, of her male companions, and of the guards whose watchfulness should have been thus deceived. Why such watchfulness is exercised upon persons going to Yedo, is, however, nowhere explained; the avowed object of the regulation being, to prevent the escape of the wives of princes, governors, and other men high in office, whose families are detained at court as hostages for the fidelity of the husband and father.

When every form has been gone through, a vessel belonging to the prince, but bearing for this occasion the Dutch flag, carries the whole party across the lake. The next day they are ferried over the rapid river Tenriogawa, the sand of which is full of gold dust, which, Fischer says, the Japanese, do not understand the art of separating from the baser matter. A strange piece of ignorance in a nation whose skill in metallurgy is highly praised!

But a river that, without gold-dust, is much more renowned in Japan, is the Oyegawa, which they cross the following day. The river has too much of the torrent character to bear a bridge or a ferry-boat. It is accordingly passed by fording; an operation rendered dangerous, as well as difficult, by the unevenness of the bottom, which is thickly strewed with large blocks of stone. Upon the banks are stationed persons, whose business it is to conduct travellers across. These people are responsible for the safety of man, beast, and baggage; and the number of guides to attend upon each, as well as their remuneration, is fixed by law, according to the depth of the water. The bed of the river is about a quarter of a mile broad, of which, when Fischer crossed, the stream occupied not more than fifty feet, whilst the water reached to a man's breast. It need scarcely be stated that, after heavy rain, this river is often unfordable, and travellers are delayed very many days upon its banks. Our party experienced no such inconvenience, but even then from twelve to sixteen men were required for their *norimono*, and the pedestrians were carried over on the shoulders of the guides. The celebrity of the Oyegawa has been already noticed, and it will be enough to add that this river affords to Japanese painters their favourite landscapes; to Japanese poets and aphoristic moralists, their favourite mataphors, similes, and illustrations.

In these respects, the river is emulated by the mountain Foesi, the next remarkable object. This mountain is by far the loftiest in Japan; its elevation has been estimated, but* without giving any authority for the measure from actual observation, at ten or twelve thousand feet; and it is always crowned with snow. On account of this peculiarity, and of the high winds reported to prevail on its summit, a pilgrimage to its highest peak — the ascent to which, Thunberg says, occupies three days — is considered a meritorious act of devotion. This pilgrimage is particularly incumbent upon the *yamaboesi*, who, although not prohibited marriage, may be regarded as a description of monks. They live a sort of hermit life, devoted to religious exercises and superstitious practices of different kinds. Their daughters are the mendicant nuns, of whom mention has been made.

---

* Parker.

To return to the mountain. Foesi was formerly an active, and especially dreaded volcano; but so long a period—upwards of a century—has elapsed since its last eruption, that all apprehension of its terrors has now subsided, and the rich and lovely adjacent region is enjoyed in security. The mountain itself is described as singularly beautiful, as well as bold in character, and commanding admiration from the first moment that it is fairly seen, at a distance of two days' journey. The road running along its foot affords, during a considerable time, a view of its sublime beauties; and at the village Motoitsiba, whence it is seen to peculiar advantage, a peasant hospitably offers the traveller an entertainment, the principal dish of which is a preparation of *sakee*, with snow from Foesi, bearing some resemblance to the ice-creams of Europe. The peasant's hospitality is rewarded by the present of a Japanese gold coin, called a *koban*, and worth 1*l.* 6*s.* 6*d.*

Soon after leaving the vicinity of this, often-painted and often-sung, extinct volcano, the Dutch deputation begins the toilsome ascent of another mountain, or mountainous ridge, which must be crossed. It is called Fakone, and is said likewise to offer splendid views of mingled fertility and savage nature. At a spot offering the most admired of these, an establishment is prepared for the reception of travelling grandees, where tea, confectionery, and other dainties, are served up by beautiful damsels. Upon this mountain, a second guard is stationed for the prevention of unlawful ingress and egress into and out of Yedo; and a curious anecdote is told of a trick put upon this Fakone guard, and of the combined artifice and violence by which the extensively fearful consequences of that trick were obviated.

An inhabitant of Yedo, named Fiyosayemon, a widower with two children, a girl and a boy, was called to a distance by business. He was poor; he knew not how to provide for his children during his absence, and resolved to take both with him. Accordingly, he dressed his daughter in boy's clothes, and thus passed the Fakone guard unsuspected. He was rejoicing in his success, when a man, who knew what children he had, joined him, congratulated him on his good luck, and asked for something to drink. The alarmed father offered a trifle; the man demanded a sum beyond his means; a quarrel ensued, and the angry informer ran back to the guard to make known the error that had been committed. The whole guard was thunder-struck. If the informer spoke truth, and the fact were detected, all their lives were forfeited; yet, to send a party to apprehend the offenders, and thus actually betray themselves, was now unavoidable. The commanding officer, however, saw his remedy. He delayed the detachment of reluctant pursuers sufficiently to allow a messenger with a little boy to outstrip them. The messenger found Fiyosayemon and his children refreshing themselves at an inn; he announced the discovery made, and the imminent danger; offered the boy as a temporary substitute for the disguised girl, and told the father that, when the falsehood of the charge should have been proved by both the children appearing to be boys, he might very fairly fly into such a rage as to kill his accuser. The kind offer was, of course, gratefully accepted. The wilfully dilatory guard arrived, surrounded the house, seized upon Fiyosayemon and the children, and gladly pronounced that both the latter were boys. The informer, who well knew Fiyosayemon's family, declared that some imposition had been practised, which the accused indignantly resenting, drew his sword and struck off the informer's head. The delighted guard exclaimed that such a liar had only met his deserts, and returned to their post; while the father, receiving back his daughter instead of the substituted boy, went his way rejoicing.*

On the forty-eighth day from leaving Dezima, the deputation, of which Overmeer Fischer, when factory secretary, made one, arrived at Kawasaky, within a short distance of Yedo.

---

* Titsingh's *Japanese Annals.*

"We more and more plainly perceived that we were advancing into the neighbourhood of a large town: bustle of all sorts, numerous retinues, the size of the houses of entertainment, even some little diversity in dress and manners, distinctly proclaimed it; and, in the evening, we were surprised by the appearance of Sazyuro, the interpreter, then resident at Yedo, who came with one of his friends to bid us welcome. The landlord of Nagasakkya, as the abiding place of the Hollanders at Yedo is called, likewise visited us here, to pay his compliments.

"By day-break of the 27th, all was commotion and hurry, every one busy alike. Attired in our best clothes, we quitted Kawasaky at nine o'clock in the morning, crossed the River Rokfgogawa, and at half-past eleven entered Sinagawa, a suburb of Yedo, amidst a frightful concourse of people. Here we were necessarily detained for some time, in order to await a number of visits from friends and acquaintance, who came to welcome the chief police officer and the interpreter, as well as ourselves.

"At about two o'clock we again set forward, and passed the palace of the Prince of Satzuma, who, in the year 1818, had visited the *opperhoofd* in person. Our train was preceded and accompanied by soldiers belonging to the town, chiefly for the purpose of preserving order. The streets were so thronged with men, that we could scarcely see anything of the houses; and although our escort very palpably repelled the people, that did not prevent our bearers from being inconveniently crowded. We passed along wide streets, paved on both sides with stone, and, as in other towns, formed by regularly built houses. We saw here very large edifices and shops, the latter protected by awnings. In front of these shops, and of every place where goods were on sale, stand a number of lads, who recommend the goods, emulously clamouring, in order to draw the attention of passers-by. Here, as in England, much is thought of signs and inscriptions over shops; and although there are here no carriages to increase the noise and tumult, I can compare the hurly-burly of Yedo to nothing but that of London.

"Long ere we entered Sinagawa, we were already moving amidst the thronging of an unnumbered multitude, and along wide streets, all of which may be reckoned as part of the town; and, from the suburb to our residence, we were full two hours on our way, proceeding at a steady pace, rather faster than usual. Nagasakkya lies close to the imperial palace, which is situated in the centre of the town, and estimated to occupy part, on the authority of their native friends; and this being the case, a few words concerning Yedo may suffice to introduce the account of the Dutch proceedings there.

The town stands at the head of a bay, or estuary, round which it extends in a crescent; but as the water is, for many miles below Yedo, too shallow to admit vessels of any burthen, it has nothing of the character of a sea-port. In fact, the harbour is reported by Dr. Parker, apparently upon the authority of fishermen upon the coast, to be as much as eighteen or twenty leagues from the capital. In building and appearance, Yedo resembles other Japanese towns, differing from them principally in its extraordinary size (it is averred to be from fifty to sixty miles in circumference;) and although the population is estimated by different writers at from 500,000 to 2,000,000 (and even 8,000,000 by Captain Golownin), much of this size is the consequence of the extraordinary extent of rising ground occupied in its centre by the imperial palace, to walk round which is said by some late writers to require three hours, whilst Thunberg gives it the still greater circumference of fifteen miles. This is somewhat explained by the information that the palace precincts comprehend not only the residence of the *ziogoon* himself, with his numerous household, and the separate mansions of a whole harem of lawful concubines, whom he is allowed in addition to his empress (as his wife, the *midia*, is called by Europeans), but also the mansion of his eldest son, of several adult members of his family, and of some high functionaries, together with gardens, pleasure-grounds, and woods for his disport—the nominally despotic vicegerent ruler of Japan being, by the customs of his court and government, virtually, pretty much imprisoned within these same spacious palace-precincts. This real *rus in urbe*, in fact a country seat upon the largest scale within a city, is not inclosed by walls, but encircled by a wet fosse, supplied from the river that runs through the middle of the town into the estuary. Across this river, in the heart of Yedo, is thrown the celebrated bridge, called *Nippon-bas*, from which, as from a central point, every distance in the empire is measured.

7

In this immense town, the Dutch deputation is shut up in four back-rooms of a house, the more open parts of which are assigned to their Japanese companions and attendants; and here, until the day of audience, they are still more closely confined than elsewhere. The Japanese of their party, even the bearers included, are doomed to the same imprisonment, and the head police-officer is forbidden not only to visit his family, but likewise to receive visits from them; and the observance of this strict seclusion is enforced by placing guards at the door of the mansion. The presents formerly shared the captivity of their bringers; but since their narrow escape from destruction in a conflagration, of which more by and bye, they are secured from such danger, by their immediate conveyance to the castle, where, undelivered and unseen until the day of audience, they remain under the care of one of the two governors of Nagasaki, whose turn it is to reside at court.

But at Yedo, this seclusion, lawfully relieved, as at Miyako, by official visits of inquiry from the governor of Nagasaki in person, and from the secretaries of those ministers who have the superintendence of foreigners, is altogether nominal. The *gobanyosi*, and their other Japanese fellow-prisoners, who naturally choose to see their own relations and friends in secret, cannot refuse to indulge the Dutch with similar clandestine visits from such persons as are willing to purchase the gratification by a bribe; and, in fact, it is evident that this constant *nayboen* infringement of rigid laws is avowedly connived at by government, as it cannot be supposed that all the spies neglect to report it.

The Dutch give their reception-room an European air, with chairs, tables, carpet, and the like; and thus, in their Yedo dwelling, with the exception of those grandees who come officially, every one is received after the fashion of Europe. Their most frequent visitors are the four court physicians and the imperial astronomer; all better Dutch scholars than the interpreters, and anxious to make the most of the opportunity of acquiring information respecting the latest scientific discoveries: an appreciation of the superiority of European knowledge, which strikingly distinguishes the Japanese from the self-sufficient Chinese. Siebold (whose testimony is, from his own character for learning, most satisfactory) says, that the questions of both physicians and astronomers discovered a proficiency in their respective sciences, which, considering their deficient means of acquiring information, actually astonished him. And it may be added, in proof of the acuteness and cultivation of the Japanese intellect, that the objections and difficulties started by the priests in their arguments with the first missionaries, are reported to have been singularly astute and logical. The most acceptable present that can be offered to the physicians and astronomers is a new scientific publication in the Dutch language. Many of those given them they have translated into Japanese; some of Laplace's works included.

These scientific men are members of the Yedo College. Such colleges, which the Dutch writers compare to their own high schools, are said to exist in many of the great cities, but the most distinguished for the excellency of their scientific professors are the colleges of Yedo and Miyako, though the latter, indeed, seems more akin to an academy of sciences.

But these are by no means the only visitors of the Dutch. "We had no want of merchants and shopkeepers, who offered us the most beautiful ware, infinitely better and much cheaper than are to be had at Nagasaki. If they did not bring prohibited wares with them, they willingly sent for whatever we desired. Great personages always came late in the evening, and their arrival was commonly preceded by a present, consisting of mercery, lackerwork, fine paper, fans, letter-cases, tobacco-boxes and pipes, or rarities, such as they know the Hollanders value. When the present was costly, the *opperhoofd* always gave something in return; but it was necessary to do this very circumspectly, and through a third hand, and our envoy was especially diligent thus to win the favour of those officials, on whom our business depends. Although no women could lawfully be admitted to us, the concourse of our fair visitors was greater here than any where else. One gentleman would sometimes bring with him six ladies, especially in an evening, on which occasions our large stock of confectionery and liqueurs suffered prodigious reductions.

At these visits, the ladies often unpacked our trunks of clothes, expressing much wonder at the form of our garments, as well as curiosity concerning the mode of wearing them. We were thus obliged to present them with some of the more valuable articles, either immediately, or through their servants, sent to us for that purpose. At all events, something, as a remembrance, they must have, were it but a couple of Dutch words written upon their fans. The *opperhoofd's* Dezima servants, who all understand Dutch, are usually our underhand interpreters; and, indeed, the princes and other high personages who came *nay-boen*, prefer employing our servants, rather than the government interpreters, in that capacity. These grandees rarely make themselves known until next day, when they send a secretary with a present and their thanks for our reception of them. They are accordingly received without any ceremony, and often come in the dress of the middle classes, as do their attendants, who, if the prince is right well-pleased and merry, become very familiar, and write down as much of our answers to their inquiries as they wish to recollect. The princes are always friendly, conversable, and unwearied questioners respecting European arts, sciences, customs, and manners, or the locality and government of Holland and our East-Indian possessions; but they never allude to Japanese policy. We thus received visits from the Princes of Matsmai and Tamba, the Prince of Mito, brother to the emperor, and the emperor's secretary; from the secretaries and other household officers of the Princes of Satzuma, Nagatz, Firakatta, Owari, Caga, &c.; the first of whom brought us a present of twelve beautiful birds, fifty rare plants, a pair of dwarf fowls, a pair of rabbits, a pair of fan-ducks, and some pieces of silk; but all stowed in such nice cages and boxes, that their cost assuredly exceeded that of their contents."*

The amusements of the Dutchmen in their not solitary confinement must not be dismissed without adding Doeff's account of one of the shop-keepers who visited them in his time, whose wealth, grandeur, and liberality, remind the reader of some of the merchants commemorated in the *Arabian Nights' Entertainment.*

"There is a silk-mercer here, named Itsigoya, who has shops in all the great towns throughout the empire. If you buy any thing of him here, take it away to another town—say, to Nagasaki—and no longer like it, you may return it, if undamaged, to his shop there, and receive back the whole sum paid for it at Yedo. He sent us five or six large chests, out of which to choose. The wealth of this man is astonishing, as appears by what follows. During my stay at Yedo, there occurred a tremendous fire, that laid every thing, our residence included, in ashes, over an area of about three leagues by one and a half. Itsigoya lost on this occasion his whole shop, together with a warehouse containing upwards of a hundred thousand pounds weight of spun silk, which fell altogether upon himself, the Japanese knowing nothing of insurances. Notwithstanding this, he sent *forty* of his servants to our assistance during the fire, who were of great use to us. The second day after the conflagration, he was already rebuilding his premises, and paid every carpenter at the rate of about ten shillings (English) a-day."*

---

* Fischer.

This fire is the accident previously alluded to as having afforded the Dutch a sight of more, at least, than they usually see at Yedo, and endangered the presents. Having been incidentally mentioned, the account of it may as well be here given.

"At ten o'clock in the morning of the 22nd of April 1806, we heard that a fire had broken out in the town, at the distance of about two leagues from our quarters. We heeded not the news, so common are fires at Yedo; a fine night never passes without one; and as they are less frequent during rain, a lowering evening is a subject of mutual congratulation to the Yedoites. But the flames came nearer and nearer; and about three o'clock in the afternoon, a high wind driving the sparks towards our neighbourhood, four different houses round about us caught fire. Two hours before this occurred, we had been sufficiently alarmed to begin packing; so that now, when the danger had become imminent, we were prepared to fly. On coming into the street, we saw every thing blazing around us. To run with the flames before the wind appeared very dangerous; so, taking an oblique direction, we ran through a street that was already burning, and thus reached an open field, called *Hara*, behind the conflagration. It was thick set with the flags of princes, whose palaces were already consumed, and who had escaped hither with their wives and children. We followed their example, and appropriated a spot to ourselves by setting up a small Dutch flag used in crossing rivers. We had now a full view of the fire, and never did I see any thing so frightful. The horrors of this sea of flame were yet enhanced by the heart-breaking cries and lamentations of fugitive women and children.

---

* Doeff.

"Here we were, for the moment, safe, but had no home. The Governor of Nagasaki, then resident at Yedo, Fita-Boengo-no-Cami, had been dismissed; and the house of his successor, appointed that very day, was already in ashes. We had quarters assigned us in the house of the other governor, then resident at Nagasaki, which stands quite at the other side of the town; thither we were led at half-past ten in the evening, and were received, and all our wants supplied, in the most friendly manner, by the son of the absent governor.

" About noon next day, a heavy rain extinguished the fire. We learned from our Nagasakkya landlord, who paid us a visit, that the flames had caught his house within five minutes after our departure, and had consumed every thing, neither goods nor furniture being saved. To afford him some relief, our government charitably gave him, for three successive years, twenty *kanassars* of sugar; the *kanassar* being equal to 60, or 70 Amsterdam pounds. He likewise told us that thirty-seven palaces of princes were destroyed, and about twelve hundred persons (including a little daughter of the Prince of Awa) were burnt to death or drowned. This last misfortune was caused by the breaking down of the celebrated bridge *Nippon-bas,* under the weight of the flying multitude, whilst those in the rear, unconscious of the accident, and wild to escape from the flames, drove those in front forward, and into the water.

" Politely as we were treated in the house of the Governor of Nagasaki, we were less free there than in an inn, and I caused diligent search for a suitable residence to be made. At the end of four days, we thanked the governor's son for his hospitality, and betook ourselves to our new abode. It was situated in a very agreeable open place;

immediately behind it ran the large river that divides Yedo, and being the fourth house from a bridge over the river, which many people are constantly crossing, we were very decided gainers in point of cheerfulness of prospect. From a sort of balcony attached to the back of our apartments, we commanded this restless throng, which was much augmented by the numbers whom curiosity to see us drew thither, but who at that distance in no wise inconvenienced us. The circumstance was, nevertheless, noticed, and the under-interpreter brought me a message from the Governor of Yedo, forbidding us thenceforward to show ourselves on this balcony, on account of the curious crowds we attracted. Hereupon, I requested to speak to the head police-officer who had accompanied us from Nagasaki. To him I expressed my astonishment at receiving such a message from the Governor of Yedo, and not from the Governor of Nagasaki, from whom alone, during the whole journey, the Hollanders had received commands or communications, and who, as he, the police-officer, had repeatedly informed me from the said governor, was intrusted exclusively with such authority over us. I added, that I did not intend to obey any other person's orders, and earnestly entreated the *gobanyosi* to make what had happened known to the said governor. The appeal to his authority was not fruitless. The very next morning, he sent me word by the same *gobanyosi* that he fully approved of my conduct, and gave me and my countrymen free leave to enjoy our balcony unmolested. He even increased that enjoyment, by ordering a certain court-yard to be cleansed."*

It does not appear, however, that the deputation acquired much new information by this glimpse of the living world of Yedo. We will now, therefore, proceed to the grand object of the journey—the audience of the *ziogoon*. This, it is to be observed, can take place only on the 28th of a month; a holiday appropriated, after the performance of the appointed religious rites, to the paying of compliments and making of visits. Should the 28th of one month by any accident be missed, the deputation would be obliged to wait four weeks for the next. The account may be best taken from Doeff, who, alone of modern presidents, went through the ceremony more than once.

"A sort of full dress is ordered for this occasion. That of the *opperhoofd* is composed of velvet, of the doctor and secretary of cloth, trimmed with gold or silver lace, or embroidered with gold or silver. All three wear cloaks—the *opperhoofd* of velvet, the others of black satin—but these are not put on till they enter the interior of the palace. The *opperhoofd* alone enjoys the privilege of having his sword borne behind him in a black velvet bag;

---

* Doeff.

no other foreigner is suffered even to retain his side-arms in Japan.

"On the appointed day, the 28th of the 3rd Japanese month (which then answered to the 3rd of May), we repaired in state to the palace at six o'clock in the morning, to the end that we might be there prior to the arrival of the state councillors. We were carried in our *norimonos* into the castle, and to the gate of the palace, where even princes are obliged to alight, except only the three princes of Owari, Kiusiu, and Mito, who, being princes of the blood, are carried as far as the gate opposite to the *guard of a hundred men*. To this guard we proceeded on foot, and there awaited the coming of the councillors of state. We were desired to sit on benches covered with red hangings, and were offered tea and materials for smoking. Here also we saw the Governor of Nagasaki, and one of the chief spies, or general commissioners of strangers, (an odd title that seems to denote an office analogous to the French *Ministère de Police*) who, after congratulating us upon our prospect of immediate happiness in approaching the emperor, entered the palace. Then came the commandant of the guard to visit the *opperhoofd;* and here it is necessary to stand rigidly upon one's rank. The commandant required that I should come from the innermost room, which is held the most honourable, into the first, or outer room, because his inferior rank did not authorize him to enter the inner room. I, on my side, asserted the impossibility of leaving the upper place assigned me. The commandant advanced, but paused at the distance of two mats (about twelve feet), whence he saluted me. By thus resolutely maintaining my place (which must always be done in Japan, when one is in the right), I insured the observance of old customs, the restoration of which, if through good nature one ever gives way, is exceedingly difficult.

" When all the state councillors had arrived, we were invited to cross yet more courts, and enter the palace, where we were received by persons who, except for their shaven heads, might be compaired to pages. They conducted us to a waiting-room, where we sat down on the floor, in a slanting direction, and covered our feet with our cloaks; to show the feet being in Japan an act of gross rudeness. [This hall is elsewhere spoken of as a remarkable handsome waiting-room, where several imperial spies keep the Dutchmen company, and divers great men visit them.] After remaining some time here, the Governor of Nagasaki and the commissioner of foreigners led me into the audience-hall, where I was desired to rehearse the required ceremonial, as the governor would pay the penalty of any imperfection. I was then led back to the waiting-hall. Some time afterwards, I accompanied the governor to the real audience, from which we saw several grandees returning. I was led along a wooden corridor to the hall of a hundred mats—so named, because it actually is carpetted with a hundred mats, each six feet by three. These are made of straw, are about two inches thick, and over them are laid others of finer workmanship, ornamentally bordered: such mats cover all handsome sitting-rooms. There we left the chief interpreter, and I alone, with the Governor of Nagasaki, went into the audience-hall, where I saw the presents arranged on my left hand. Here we found the *ziogoon*, or emperor, whose dress differed in no respect from that of his subjects. I paid my compliment in the precise form in which the princes of the realm pay theirs, whilst one of the state councillors announced me by the shout of *Capitan Oranda!* Hereupon, the Governor of Nagasaki, who stood a step or two behind me, pulled me by the cloak, in token that the audience was over. The whole ceremony does not occupy a minute."

As this account, 'although, no doubt, correct as far as it goes, does not give a very distinct idea of the ceremonial of the Yedo court, a more particular description may be added from Fischer, who, if he did not attend the ceremony, was, together with the physician, present at its rehearsal, and may, therefore, be considered a competent witness.

"The whole ceremony consists in making the Japanese compliment upon the appointed spot, and remaining for some seconds with the head touching the mats, whilst the words *Capitan Holanda* are proclaimed aloud. A stillness, as of death, prevails, broken only by the buzzing sound used by the Japanese to express profound veneration. The Governor of Nagasaki and the chief interpreter are the only persons who accompany the *opperhoofd*, and give him the signal of retreat, which, like his entrance, is performed in a very stooping attitude; so that, although the presence of numbers may be perceived, it is impossible, without violating the laws of Japanese courtesy, to look round for what should attract attention or excite curiosity."

But if the imperial audience be now over, not so the business of the day. The deputation, leaving the imperial palace, repairs to that of the *nisnomar*, or crown prince, which is described as finely situated upon a hill, whence some idea of the extent of the palace-grounds may be formed, and, negatively perhaps, of the size of the town, since in no direction can its limits be discovered. The crown prince is not found at home by any deputation, and is probably in attendance upon his father; thus performing his part of the compliment-paying of the day. The deputation is received in his name by state councillors appointed for the purpose, and no account is any where given of the ceremony observed. Of the subsequent visits of compliment and present-making to the officers of state, something more is related. The deputation visits the extraordinary and ordinary state councillors to present them gifts, but find none of them at home. "We were every where politely received by a secretary, and entertained with tea and confectionery. This last was set before us on wooden trays, but not touched; it was neatly folded up in paper, secured with gold or silver cords, and carried to our lodgings, in lackered bowls, by the under interpreter and our landlord. Behind the screens we heard the wives and children of the councillors, who were curiously watching us. That they did not show themselves in the room was not from any Turkish custom of secluding women, but because it might have led to too great familiarity with strangers."*

Their concealment might possibly be in part a following up of the system that prohibits unnecessary intercourse between Japanese and foreigners, but more likely a consequence of the great difference in rank that separates the wife of a minister of state from a trader. Pipes and tobacco are likewise every where presented to the Dutch strangers.

"In some houses, permission was asked to examine our watches, and the *opperhoofd's* hat and sword; whilst at every visit I had the irksome task of writing with red lead upon several sheets of paper, which, after the fatigues of the day, together with the inconvenience of the posture, sitting on the ground, became at last exceedingly troublesome, and almost intolerable. It was half-past nine in the evening before we got home from these honourable ceremonies, and then we had to receive a number of congratulatory visits, as though the object had been, by dint of compliments, to put our health and strength to the test, for it became at last a feverish agitation, under which many persons might have fainted." *

---

* Doeff.

Since the year 1822, it appears that the Japanese government has taken compassion upon the Dutch deputation, and given them an additional day in which to go through their visiting labours. Siebold, who performed the same journey four years later, says, that only the five state councillors of the first class were visited by his party on the day of audience, the eight of the second class on the following day; and the visits described by Fischer, in his attendance upon President Blomhoff, as paid on the second day, were then deferred to a third.

The day dedicated to the continuance and termination of this round of complimentary visits, was even in 1822 less fatiguing than the first, and the energies of the visitors were supported through it by more substantial hospitality. Four dignitaries only are named as visited—to wit, the two "temple lords," as the Dutch designate the ministers to whom the department of religion is committed, and the two governors of Yedo, who respectively take charge of the eastern and western halves of the capital, and they entertain their guests, whom only the Yedo governors receive in person, with a hot meal and *sakee.* Doeff makes no mention of the Governor of Nagasaki (who could not be burnt out every time he performed the Yedo journey) in his list of visits; but Fischer explicitly says, "The Governor of Nagasaki did not receive us, probably because he is very plainly lodged here, and, amongst such numbers of grandees, wished to conceal his mean estate from us. In fact, in the imperial palace, we saw the same man, who holds himself so high at Nagasaki, trotting about like a servant."

---

* Fischer.

For the few days that the Dutch remain at Yedo after the audience, the physicians and astronomers visit them openly; but how many of their other acquaintance come thus *omité-moeki,* as the Japanese call the opposite of their *nayboen,* is nowhere stated; it only appears that the visits of princes and of ladies continue invariably of the latter class.

More than three or four days are seldom suffered to elapse, after the first compliment and tribute-paying audience, ere the Dutch deputation is summoned to an audience of dismissal. The ceremonial of this audience is said to be precisely the same as that of the former; but it is far less honourable, inasmuch as the *ziogoon* does not accept in person the *kotoo* of the *opperhoofd*. The state councillors only receive him in the hall of a hundred mats, where the Governor of Nagasaki reads to him the same proclamation that he annually hears read at Nagasaki, as already mentioned.* After these commands have been communicated, the Dutch president withdraws for a short time, and on his return to the hall receives the *ziogoon's* present, consisting of thirty robes of state; he withdraws again, and again returns to receive twenty from the crown prince. He then goes home, where, in the afternoon, the secretaries of the state councillors, temple lords, governors of Yedo, and commissioners of strangers, bring him their masters' leave-taking compliments, thanks for the presents received, and return-presents, consisting likewise of silk robes, but inferior in quality to those given by the *ziogoon* and his heir, and wadded only with cotton. Each bearer of these gifts receives a present of sweetmeats, a paper of Dutch tobacco, and two gilt pipes.

---

* See Note XI.

This is the whole of the ceremonial now practised at the court of Yedo, in the reception of foreigners, as given by writers of the present century. It differs not much from the forms described by Kæmpfer, as observed nearly 150 years ago; but the modern relations want the second part of the earlier narrative. A comparison of the two accounts, including this second part, which seems to be now obsolete, can hardly be uninteresting. Kæmpfer, though admitted to the imperial presence, was, like his successors, excluded from the tribute-presenting audience, his description of which agrees with Fischer's. Still, as the quaint and somewhat prolix old German physician is both more explicit and more graphic, the extract about to be taken from his book may as well begin with this audience.

"As soon as the resident entered the hall of audience, they cried out, '*Holanda Captain!*' which was the signal for him to draw near and make his obeisances. Accordingly, he crawled on his hands and knees to a place shown him, between the presents ranged in due order on one side, and the place where the Emperor sat on the other; and there, kneeling, he bowed his forehead quite down to the ground, and so crawled backwards like a crab, without uttering a single word. So mean and short a thing is the audience we have of this mighty monarch. Nor are there any more ceremonies observed in the audience he gives, even to the greatest and most powerful princes of the empire. For, having been called into the hall, their names are cried out aloud, then they move on their hands and feet humbly and silently towards the Emperor's seat, and having showed their submission, by bowing their forehead down to the ground, they creep back again in the same submissive posture.

"In the second audience, (seemingly an extra audience, and immediately following the first,) the Emperor, and the ladies invited to it, attend behind screens and lattices, but the councillors of state, and other officers of the court, sit in the open rooms, in their usual and elegant order. As soon as the captain had paid his homage, the Emperor retired to his apartment, and not long afterwards we three Dutchmen were likewise called up, and conducted through galleries, &c."

But it is hard for modern patience to extract the circumstantial detail; and must be allowable to proceed *per saltum* to the more private audience-hall, where every one, Dutch and Japanese, is at length arranged in his proper place, Bengo, the Emperor's favourite and prime minister, sitting on a raised mat, between them and the Emperor.

" After the usual obeisances made (bowing and creeping towards the lattice, behind which sat his Majesty), Bengo bade us welcome in the Emperor's name; the chief interpreter received the compliment from Bengo's mouth, and repeated it to us. Upon this, the ambassador made his compliment in the name of his masters. * * * This the chief interpreter repeated in Japanese, having prostrated himself quite to the ground, and speaking loud enough to be heard by the Emperor. The Emperor's answer was again received by Bengo, who delivered it to the chief interpreter, and he to us. * * * The mutual compliments over, the succeeding part of the solemnity turned to a perfect farce. We were asked a thousand ridiculous and impertinent questions. Thus, for instance, they desired to know, in the first place, how old each of us was, and what was his name? which we were commanded to write on a bit of paper, having for these purposes taken an European ink-horn along with us. This paper, together with the ink-horn itself, we were commanded to give to Bengo, who delivered them both into the Emperor's hands, reaching them over, below the lattice. The captain, or ambassador, was asked concerning the distance of Holland from Batavia, and of Batavia from Nagasaki? Which of the two was the most powerful, the Director-general of the Dutch East-India Company at Batavia, or the Prince of Holland? As for my own particular the following questions were put to me:—What external and internal distempers I thought most dangerous and the most difficult to cure? How I proceeded in the cure of cancrous humours and imposthumations of the inner parts? Whether our European physicians did not search after some medicine to render people immortal, as the Chinese physicians had done for many hundred years? Whether we had made any considerable progress in this search, and which was the remedy most conducive to long life that had been found out in Europe? * * * The name (of a medicine) was minuted down behind the lattices, for which purpose I was commanded to repeat it several times. * * * They asked whether I could make it up? Upon this, our resident whispered me to say, 'No;' but I answered, 'Yes, I could make it up, but not here.' Then 'twas asked whether it could be had at Batavia? And having returned in answer that it was to be had there, the Emperor desired that it should be sent over by the next ships. The Emperor, who had hitherto sat among the ladies, almost opposite to us, at a considerable distance, did now draw near, and sat himself down on our right, behind the lattices, as near us as possibly he could. Then he ordered us to take off our *cappa*, or cloak, being our garment of ceremony; then to stand upright, that he might have a full view of us; again, to walk, to stand still, to compliment each other, to dance, to jump, to play the drunkard, to speak broken Japanese, to read

Dutch, to paint, to sing, to put our cloaks on and off. Meanwhile we obeyed the Emperor's commands in the best manner we could; I joined to my dance a love-song in high German. In this manner, and with innumerable such other apish tricks, we must suffer ourselves to contribute to the Emperor's and the court's diversion. The ambassador, however, is free from these and the like commands, for as he represents the authority of his masters, some care is taken that nothing should be done to injure or prejudice the same. * * * Having been thus exercised for a matter of two hours, though with great apparent civility, some servants, shaved, came in, and put before each of us a small table with Japanese victuals, and a couple of ivory sticks, instead of knives and forks. We took and ate some little things, and our old chief interpreter, though scarce able to walk, was commanded to carry away the remainder for himself. We were then ordered to put on our cloaks again, and to take our leave."

This is assuredly a curious scene in the annals of diplomacy; but the reader, who considers how completely in the dark the Yedo government must have been relative to European states and their colonial dependencies, will probably not think the *ziogoon's* political questions so very impertinent. The medical interrogatory has been shortened, by omitting the physician's evasions, conquered by imperial pertinacity.

Ere quitting this subject, it may be added, that such a mimic representation of European life appears to have been, at that time, a favourite amusement of the Yedo court. A similar exhibition, with less violation of grave diplomatic decorum, is described in the narrative, given in Ogilby's Montanus, of the adventures of the crew of a Dutch ship which, in distress for provisions, put into an interdicted port, when the captain was enticed on shore, made prisoner, and sent to Yedo, where he underwent long, severe, and repeated examinations, before the government was satisfied that his object had not been to land Portuguese missionaries.

But, returning to the Japan of the present day, we must not take our leave of Yedo without adverting to a fancy, entertained by most students of Dutch there, and, indeed, by many friends of the strangers, for receiving a Dutch name from their European visitors. This whim appears to have begun with a man who, in honour of his few words of broken Dutch, having persuaded an *opperhoofd* of the last century to new-name him, gloried in the appellation of Adrian Pauw; and it was followed up at Dezima by an under-interpreter's obtaining the name of Abraham. The bearers of these two Dutch names became objects of envy to such of their countrymen as cultivated the acquaintance of the foreigners; and the natural consequence was, that Doeff received at Yedo divers petitions for names; amongst others, one from the learned astronomer, Takahaso Sampei, who was appointed commissioner of inquiry in the affair of the Russian Golownin, and another from one of the imperial physicians. The worthy president was loath to nickname such respectable men as these, but yielding at length to their importunity, dubbed the former Globius, the second Botanicus; if indeed the imposition of such Latin descriptive designations can fairly be called complying with the wish for Dutch names. A son of the *ziogoon's* father-in-law, the Prince of Satzuma, and his secretary, were more honestly indulged, the latter with the name of Pieter van der Stulp, his master with that of Frederik Hendrik, the name of one of the early Stadtholders.

Neither must a somewhat original banquet, given to *Opperhoofd* Blomhoff by his *gobanyosi* and his landlord, be omitted. "It was extraordinarily splendid, and no expense was spared in order to display Yedo luxury and etiquette. On this occasion, many of those who called themselves Dutch friends, appeared in Dutch clothes, which, having been gradually collected from olden times, formed a most grotesque whole. By all this, as well as by many prompt services, they gave us the most indubitable marks of friendship and good-will."*

Blomhoff and Fischer remained twelve days at Yedo, in such friendly intercourse, after the audience of leave; which appears to have been an unusual indulgence.

---

* Fischer.

CHAPTER VI.

RETURN TO DEZIMA.

Leave-taking at Yedo.—Miyako.—The *Mikado*.—His extraordinary dignity.—Honours paid him.—His abdication or death. —His wives.—His reception of, and visit to the *Ziogoon* at Miyako.—Learning of the *Dairi*.—Ohosaka.—Amusements. —Theatre.—Plays.—Actors.—Strange intermingling of different plays.—Arrival.—Dutch distress during the interruption of intercourse with Java. — Japanese endeavours to relieve it.—Success and failure.

THE final signal of departure from Yedo is given by the leave-taking visits of the secretaries of the governors of Yedo and Nagasaki, in the names of their respective masters, on the morning of the day appointed for the commencement of the second half of the expedition. But not so ends all intercourse with Yedo friends, or Yedo population. Amidst the necessary bustle of the travellers' preparations for departure with all the encumbrances that have been described, their apartments are, during these last hours, thronged with acquaintance, as is the street before the door with expectant spectators, waiting, with curiosity yet more eager than upon their arrival, for the last glimpse of the only strangers Yedo ever beholds. The commotion within and without the house is represented as beyond the power of words to express.

"We were obliged, upon coming into the street, about four o'clock, to close our *norimonos* against the great concourse of people, who, notwithstanding the harsh means employed by the guard escorting us to keep them off, jostled each other to get a sight of the Hollanders. We alighted near the palace of the Prince of Satzuma, in compliment to that respectable old man, who presented himself, with his whole family, at the windows. About half-past six we reached the Sinagawa suburb, where our Yedo friends were awaiting us, to spend a last evening together, and say farewell. The next morning, setting forward on our journey, we met, at Omoer, a few miles from Sinagawa, the two sons of the Prince of Nagatz, who had come thither to obtain an underhand interview with us, for which they had perhaps found no opportunity at Yedo. The eldest answered our compliment very friendlily, saying, in Dutch, 'Seen for the first time;' which, in their own language, is the expression usually employed by Japanese at their introduction to any one. This young prince had obtained the Dutch name of *Maurits*, and seemed, like his father, to think much of our nation and customs. They had with them a number of attendants, who had often visited us at Yedo, and now took leave of us."*

Upon the journey back, the same road is taken as on the journey to Yedo; the division of stages, and the halting-places, are likewise the same, with the single change, that where the travellers dined as they went, they now sleep; and where they then slept, they now dine; and they undergo the same search by the guards at Fakone and Aray. In the pleasure of the two journeys there is, indeed, a material difference, inasmuch as all traces of winter have now vanished, and they contemplate the fair landscape in its summer beauty, which grows more and more luxuriant as they proceed southwards to Nagasaki. But one really essential variation from their former course there is, that makes their return worth notice, and this occurs in their sojourns at Miyako and Ohosaka, where they now enjoy as much liberty as a foreigner can hope for in Japan.

At Miyako, the Dutch deputation is now received in person by the grand judge and the governors of the town, to whom they give the presents left in deposit for them as they went, receiving in return silk dresses and silver. They are not honoured with an audience of the *mikado*, nor have they any presents for him, the Son of Heaven being in all likelihood a personage too holy to be lawfully known to, or even thought of, by Christian foreigners; and they are of course not admitted within the precincts of his court, the *dairi*. Nevertheless, this singularly circumstanced autocrat by right divine, and his almost equally singular court, being fixed in this town, this seems the best place in which to give such particulars concerning them as have been gathered from different writers, ancient as well as modern; especially as one early president, Cramer, is said to have witnessed a ceremonious procession now obsolete, which shall conclude this account of the *dairi*. It will however be proper to premise, that the *mikado* is by some writers called the *dairi*, which, being the name of his court, can hardly be other than a mistake; however, it should seem, as if the Japanese termed him indifferently *mikado* or *dairi sama*—this last appellation meaning 'lord of the *dairi*'—and that the Europeans have merely dropped the title *sama* or 'lord.'

---

* Fischer.

This nominally supreme sovereign does, indeed, claim to reign by right divine, both as being descended in a direct line from the gods, and as being in a manner still identified with them, the spirit of the sun goddess, the deity who rules the universe, gods and men included, Ama-terasu-ookami, being embodied in every reigning *mikado.* Such a claim to despotic power was indisputable and undisputed, as it still is; but some centuries ago, a military chief, rendering his own situation hereditary, possessed himself of the actual authority, under the title of *ziogoon,* as vicegerent or deputy of the *mikado,* to whom he left the nominal supreme sovereignty, and all his state, pomp, and dignity, a nominal ministry included.

In fact, it appears that the autocrat's dignity is now made the plea for depriving him of his power. Worldly affairs are represented to be so wholly undeserving the attention of the successor of the gods, that his bestowing a thought upon them would degrade him, even if it were not actual profanation. Accordingly, no business is submitted to him, no act of sovereignty is performed by him, that has not a religious character. He deifies or canonizes great men after death—the *ziogoon* taking the trouble of pointing out the dead who are worthy of apotheosis. He confers the offices of his court, a real spiritual hierarchy, and, from their nominal dignity and sanctity, objects of ambition to the princes of the empire, to the *ziogoon's* ministers, and to the *ziogoon* himself. He determines the days on which certain movable religious festivals are to be celebrated, the colours appropriate to evil spirits, and the like. And one other governing act, if act it may be called, he daily performs, which should prove him to be, in virtue of his partial identification with the sun goddess, quite as much the patron divinity as the sovereign of Japan. He every day passes a certain number of hours upon his throne, immovable, lest by turning his head he should bring down ruin upon that part of the empire to or from which he should look; by this immobility maintaining the whole realm's stability and tranquillity. When he has sat the requisite number of hours, he resigns his place to his crown, which continues upon the throne as his substitute during the remainder of the day and night.

The honours paid to the *mikado* are as extraordinary as his situation and pretensions, and all are indicative of, or relative to, his half-divine nature; if half-divine be an expression strong enough to express a degree of divinity so exalted, that all the *kamis* or gods are held annually to wait upon the *mikado*, and spend a month at his court. During that month, the name of which implies 'without gods,' no one frequents the temples, believing them deserted. To dignify and to guard from violation the high sanctity of the *mikado's* person, is the grand object of all the honours in question. That his sacred foot may not touch the ground, he never moves but borne upon men's shoulders. That unhallowed eyes may not pollute him with a glance, he never quits the precincts of his palace. This absolute seclusion in his palace appears however to be a modern improvement upon the old system. According to most reports, neither his hair, beard, or nails are ever cut, that his sacred person may not be mutilated, although the erudite orientalist Klaproth avers, that such mutilation as may be deemed essential to his comfort, for instance, cutting his nails and trimming his beard, are performed during his sleep, and called "stealing his nails and hair." It has been asserted, that the sun was deemed unworthy to shine upon him; but this is denied by later writers, and seems indeed very inconsistent with the intimate union existing between the sun goddess and himself.

What is more certain and consistent is, that every thing about him must be incessantly new. No article of his dress is ever worn a second time; the plates and dishes in which his repasts are served, the cups or bowls out of which he drinks, must be new at every meal, as must the culinary utensils in which the meal is prepared. But none inherit his leavings. Whatever article of any kind has been hallowed by the *mikado's* use, even such remote use as cooking what he is to eat, is thereby so sanctified, that no human touch must be afterwards suffered to profane them. To wear his cast clothes, to eat off his plates, cook in his saucepan, &c., or even to feed upon the broken victuals from his table, would call down the vengeance of heaven upon the sacrilegious offender. To prevent all risk of the kind, every thing that has once been in any way employed in the service of the *mikado* is immediately torn, broken or otherwise destroyed; his clothes, which are of a colour that no other person may wear, are burnt; and hence arises the only drawback upon all this state. The *mikado* is supported by the *ziogoon*, and the allowances from Yedo not being as ample as might be wished, the heavy expense of renewing daily, almost hourly, whatever appertains to the Son of Heaven, is alleviated by supplying his wardrobe, table, kitchen, &c., with articles of the very cheapest, and therefore, coarsest description.

A *mikado* frequently abdicates in favour of a son or daughter—there are many instances of a daughter being thus preferred to a son, both whilst the sovereignty thus transferred was real and absolute, and since it has been a mere shadow. When a change of reign thus occurs, it is plainly, simply and explicitly made known to the whole empire; but if the emperor retains his station to the close of his life, the announcement is not so straightforward an affair. The death of the *mikado* is carefully concealed, until the succession of his heir, male or female, is secured; and then the new *mikado* is proclaimed, with the additional intelligence that his predecessor has vanished. Indeed, in what other terms could the decease of so divine a personage be mentioned?

To guard against the possible failure of an heir in the direct line of these successors and representatives of the gods, the *mikado* has twelve lawful wives, the only individual in Japan indulged, if an indulgence it be, with polygamy; although fidelity to his one wife is not held to be the duty of any husband. These twelve empresses the *mikado* usually selects from among the ladies of his court, and they are distinguished from other Japanese women by the form of their dress. Their robes are said to be so preposterously long and large, and the silk of which they are composed to be rendered so stiff and heavy by inwrought gold and silver flowers, as nearly to incapacitate them from moving; while Klaproth, taking no notice of their splendour, states that they, like the *mikado*, never put a robe on a second time; and adds, that when visiting the *mikado*, their hair hangs loose, though at other times it is properly dressed. The two statements, of the magnificence, and the constant renovation of the robes of the empresses, are manifestly inconsistent with what has been said of the coarseness of the *mikado's* own dress upon this very account; and probably the truth is, that the internal economy of this completely secluded court is, of all other subjects, the one upon which foreigners are most likely to be led into error. All that can be done is to collect and compare the different reports; and, to conclude the article of dress, it may be added, that the robes of the *dairi*, male and female, are almost as inconveniently large and long as those of the *mikado's* consorts, and in this respect they are generally imitated by the priesthood.

In former times the *Ziogoon* was bound periodically to wait upon the *Mikado*, and pay in person his compliment of homage; and in the year 1626, Conraedt Cramer, envoy from the Dutch East India Company to the *Ziogoon*, witnessed what he calls the reception of the sovereign vicegerent. A few extracts from his description, as Englished by Ogilby, may, notwithstanding the strangely awkward style, not unseasonably be here introduced.

"The Ambassador Cramer went in the evening with his whole retinue to a house near the Imperial Palace, where he had hired a place to stand in, by which the Emperor and Dayro were to pass the next day, where whilst he stayed with his servants treating about the price, the people began to flock in such great multitudes, and the crowd still more and more increasing to get places, that the ambassador, finding it impossible to get home to his lodgings, was necessitated to stay there all night. Early in the morning the streets swarmed with an incredible number of people, which, between the Emperor's and the *Dayro's* court, were all strewed with white sand, and railed in on both sides, all along guarded with soldiers of his Imperial Majesty's and the *Dayro's,* clothed in white vestments, with head-pieces varnished with black wax, and armed with two scymetars and a pike. These guards were up and down, still busied in clearing the way for the coaches [the only writer, perhaps, who mentions coaches in Japan,] and horses through the people, which two days before came flocking from all corners of Japan in great numbers, there getting on scaffolds, and staying all night under the canopy of Heaven, to see the Emperor pass by the next day, when all the windows and roofs were covered and thronged with spectators.

"By break of day the train began to march. The first that passed were several servants of the Emperor's and *Dayro's,* with many palanquinos or porters, who carried gifts that were to be presents, in square waxed (lackered) chests, covered with the *Dayro's* arms in gold, unto the Emperor's court, a strong guard attending them. After these followed six sedans of white wood, about a fathom high, inlaid with plates of copper, and curiously painted, in which the ladies of honour belonging to the *Dayro's* wives were carried, each by four men. These were followed by twenty-one sedans more, covered with black wood gilded, which were also carried by four on their shoulders: these ladies of honour being richly habited, sat in great state. After them came twenty-seven large sedans, which were carried by one hundred and eight men: their servants following were alike clothed in white liveries, and of the same number. In these sedans, fair to the eye, having gilded doors and windows, were some of the nobles of the *Dayro's* court; before every one of these went a tall, lusty young man, holding by a long pike an umbrella of white silk, embroidered with gold.

"Next these came a cavalcade of twenty-four of the nobility on horseback, wearing on their heads a small, black, waxed cap, with a black plume; and coats with wide sleeves; and their breeches, made of the best satin, were long and narrow, [this seems strange upon such an occasion, when the petticoat trousers might have been looked for] of several colours, richly embroidered with gold and silver. By their sides hung gilded scymetars, bows and arrows, girt to their waist with needle-worked scarfs, whose tasseled fringes hung over on each side of the horse; their boots, drawn on straight, being black, were gilt with golden bars; bravely mounted on gallant horses, proud of their little heads, short ears, and gaunt yet well trussed bodies, insomuch that the meanest there seemed to excel the most generous and bravest steed that ever Europe boasted or bred. Their saddles were all waxed or gilded; the seat embroidered with silver and gold, or else spread over with tiger skins; their manes, like ours, were curiously plaited with silk, silver, and gold ribbons. Their caparisons, that covered their breasts and buttocks, were a kind of net-work of crimson silk, full of tufts, and dangling with the motion of the wind; on their foreheads a golden horn, resembling our painted unicorns. Their shoes, to take away the noise of trampling, were of intervowen silk instead of iron. Each steed led by two grooms; two great umbrellas, made of fine linen, covered with red cloth, with a silk fringe round about it, being carried before, served to cover each horse, which was farther attended by eight pages or servants, all in white liveries, and armed, according to their manner, with two cutlasses; being thus attended, they rode on from the *Dayro's* to the Emperor's palace, without any disturbance, in good order.

"After these followed three rich coaches, each drawn by two black bulls, covered with red silken nets, and led by four footmen in white liveries; these coaches were each four fathom high, two long and one broad, being adorned with waxen figures, and enamelled with gold; on each side were three windows and two before, which were hung with rich curtains; the entry behind opened like the gate of a prince's palace, steps ascending with turrets on each side, the windows beneath shaded with black wax, the rounds of the wheels gilded, the spokes neatly turned and inlaid with gold and mother-of-pearl, which moving, cast beams like a looking glass reflecting the sun, a novel and most glorious sight.

"These coaches, or rather towers, each of them carried in state the *Dayro's* principal wives. The train of pages all clothed in white, which attended these ladies were numerous, each of them carrying a gilded footstool and a pair of wax slippers. Besides their attendance of pages, a train of ladies followed them in twenty-three sedans, made of white wood and plated with copper, each having an umbrella, two pages, and four stout men to carry them.

"These being passed by, appeared a second cavalcade, sixty-eight of the *Dayro's* prime gentlemen, bravely mounted and completely armed, their horses seeming in beauty to outvie the former; these marching by two and two were attended by a great train of servants; slaves, [the only mention of slaves, and probably a mistake,] pages, and a guard of pikes.

"Then followed the presents, being carried in great state by several lords of the country; the first were two gilded scymetars, the pummel, handle, hilts, and chafe all of massive gold; a curious firelock, much esteemed with them; a sundial embellished with gold and pearl, there a great rarity; two stately golden candlesticks; two large pillars of ebony; three square polished tables of the same wood, the corners tipped with gold; three desks; two mighty chargers of massive gold, attended with a pair of wax slippers.

"The second cavalcade being passed, there followed two more coaches of like bigness, but exceeding the former in riches, having the Emperor's arms on the top, cast and flourished round, in a plate of massive gold. In the first sat Sadofienminamo Tonofindelanda, the Emperor (*Ziogoon*) himself; and in the other the heir apparent or young Emperor Oeudefienminamo Tonoynemijtsamma. Fourscore lords marched two-and-two, on foot, before this pair of coaches, all gallant men, armed with scymetars and half pikes, which are the Emperor's life-guard, which the Japanese call *Sambreys.* But just before the Emperor's coach marched eight men with ebony staves and steel batons, like our whifflers, clearing the way. Two beautiful horses, richly trapped, were also led before the coaches, about which marched a guard of eight archers, armed with pikes, bows, and arrows.

"Next in good order march their Imperial Majesties' brothers, then all the princes and nobles of Japan followed on horseback, to the number of one hundred and sixty-four, clothed and armed like the former, but much richer, according to their several births and qualities. The ten brothers rode each by himself, with a numerous train of gentlemen, pages, &c. * * * Then the lords, the primest of them taking the left hand, which in this country is the upper and chiefest place. * * * They were attended by four hundred in white liveries.

"Then came six new fair coaches, though not half so big as the former, and only drawn by one ox, but proportionably beautiful. In these sat some of the *Dayro's* inferior concubines, who were again followed by a cavalcade of sixty-eight gentlemen on horseback, attended with many servants and slaves.

"There was yet another coach in which the *Dayro's* chief secretary rode, accompanied with thirty-seven gentlemen on horseback. Then followed the *norimonos* or sedans, in which were carried several of the *Dayro's* grandees, whereof fifteen were of ebony inlaid with ivory; thirteen more shining with black wax and gold, and eighteen all glistering like mirrors, with a deep varnish of black wax; these were followed by forty-six great gilded caroches, which with their attendance followed the sedans. No sooner was this train passed by, but there came fifty-four disguised like *Mascurades*, being the *Dayro's* musicians, playing on several instruments, as pipes, tabors, cymbals, bells, and some strung instruments, unknown to us.

"After these merry boys followed the *Dayro* himself, sitting in a great square edifice, surrounded with drawing doors or windows on each corner; on the top stood a gilded ball and a cock of massive gold thereon, with wings displayed. This moving house being nine foot high, was very beautifully adorned on all sides with carved imagery, each angle plated with pure gold; and the roof of it imitating the heavens, with sun, moon and stars. Fifty of the Emperor's nobles carried this ambulatory palace, supported on long poles. Forty gentlemen accoutred like the ancient Greeks and Romans, armed with European head-pieces, and pikes gilded at the ends, carrying in one hand a shield stuck full of arrows, had each of them an umbrella carried over them, and went before, being the *Dayro's* body guard. These were again followed by thirteen great waxen chests, carried by the *pallaquin* porters. And lastly, the whole procession was closed with four hundred persons, all in white vestments, marching six in a rank in very good order."

This description is certainly not as clear, and it may be suspected not as correct, as those given by later writers; but being the only account of any ceremony in which the *mikado* figures, seemed worth extracting. The writer goes on to relate the disorders and disasters that ensued from the prodigious crowd which the grand procession had attracted. "Several were crowded to death, many were so squeezed that they burst asunder, others falling were sure never to rise, being immediately trampled under foot. The horsemen making their way by force through the foot, which tumbled down one over another, so lying prostrate for the horses to tread over, the streets flowed with blood.

* * *

"The *Dayro* and his wives lay there three days in the Emperor's palace, where they were served by their Majesties, their brothers, and the greatest princes of the court. Those which were placed by the Emperor, as stewards to prepare the several dishes for the *Dayro*, were the Lord Chief Justice of the country and city of Shiyako, and four lords. Every meal consisted of one hundred and forty services. And for to attend the *Dayro's* three principal wives, were placed Onwandonie, Head Councillor of the old Emperor, and four lords of the Council."

The feasting ended by the young Emperor's offering a magnificent present to the son of heaven. But to return to the account of the *dairi*.

After all that has been said of the superstitions and absurdities still prevalent with respect to the *mikado*, is the reader prepared for the information that his *dairi* is the spot in Japan where literature is most diligently and enthusiastically cultivated? More science there may possibly be in the college at Yedo, although the *dairi* is said to constitute a college or academy for the cultivation of theology and other sciences. But, at any rate, the poets, historians, and philosophic moralists most universally admired by their countrymen, are to be found amongst the male and female members of the *dairi*, of whose lives literature is both the business and the pleasure.

To secure the *ziogoon* against the intermingling of any ambitious views with these laudable pursuits, is the business of the grand judge; and the watch he is required to keep over the movements of the *dairi* is facilitated by the position of his residence opposite to the *dairi*-gate. His office is, however, by no means a pleasant or easy one. The slightest negligence would incur the *ziogoon's* anger, and any over-officiousness might provoke the resentment of the *mikado*, to whom he is professedly only the humble representative of a dutiful vicegerent. In either case, he could have no choice but to rip up his abdomen, after the established fashion of Japanese suicide.

The *dairi* does not occupy an extent of territory comparable with the *ziogoon's* palace; nor can Miyako compete in size with Yedo. The whole population is estimated at little more than half a million—six hundred thousand souls, exclusive of the *dairi*, however; the members of which are probably too lofty to be numbered in any census.

But if inferior in magnitude, we are assured that the town is the most beautiful, in itself and in its surrounding fruitful soil and lovely scenery, as also the most healthy, in Japan. Miyako is, in fact, esteemed the paradise of the empire, and one of its claims to this praise rests upon the acknowledged superior beauty of its women. It is also a seat of learning independently of the *dairi*, containing, it is said, other colleges and high schools.

The Dutch upon this occasion spend some days here, which are chiefly occupied in purchases, the best of every manufacture being sent hither. Various celebrated temples are exhibited to them; and in the gardens of one of these, tents are pitched, under which to give them a banquet. The numbers who throng to this entertainment, to gaze at the foreigners, are spoken of by the Dutch guests as exceeding any crowd in which they have ever found themselves, in Japan or elsewhere: the object of the givers of the entertainment being apparently much more to gratify the inhabitants with a sight of the strangers from a distant land, than to amuse the Dutch deputation. The two are, however, far from incompatible.

From Miyako, boats convey the travellers, in a day and a night, down the river to Ohosaka, where they make a much longer stay, and enjoy a greater variety of amusements. They are now permitted to view the town, which is said to be well worth exploring. Its dimensions are not given, but may be conjectured from two facts stated, namely, that it contains upwards of a hundred bridges over the river and the several canals or branches led off from the main stream, and that the citizens boast of being able to raise an army of eighty thousand men from their own population alone. Not only is it inhabited by the most considerable and the wealthiest merchants of the empire, as being the great mart of commerce, whither the foreign goods brought by the few permitted Dutch and Chinese vessels are sent from Nagasaki; it is also a manufacturing town, and the manufactories visited by the deputation are spoken of favourably. Ohosaka is fortified in the Japanese unskilful guise, and is further protected by a castle on one side of the town, the commander of which is of higher rank than the governor; but without authority over, or connexion with him.

The presents are now formally delivered to the governor, in a regular audience, after which the donors are magnificently as well as hospitably feasted by him. Other parties of pleasure follow. The governor's race-course is visited, but no mention is made of the races; and President Doeff commemorates, as that which seemingly most impressed him, one especial entertainment at a teahouse, where, he says, such hearty joy reigned, that he still, at this distance of time, recollects it with delight.

But an amusement more calculated to gratify the reader is the theatre, which should seem to be superior, at Ohosaka, at least to any other visited by the Dutch, as persons, who never allude to plays at Nagasaki, dwell upon those they have seen at the former town, on their return from Yedo.

The Ohosaka theatre is described as very large; containing, besides the pit, three tiers of seats, elegantly ornamented like the boxes of European theatres. The decorations, scenery, and dresses, are said to be handsome, and in good taste; but this eulogy must be received with some little modification, inasmuch as it appears that "it is occasionally difficult for a stranger to comprehend the decorations, on account of the extraordinary manner of placing the lines in the paintings."* A perplexity resulting, probably, from the total absence, in Japanese painting, of perspective, upon which the effect of scenery wholly depends. Indeed, throughout this whole account the probably merely mercantile education, and the long Japanese association of the factory writers, are strongly recalled to the mind of the reader.

Unfortunately, not only have we no translation of any Japanese play, but no writer has hitherto given such an analysis of any piece, as might afford the means of forming an opinion respecting the state of the dramatic art in Japan. A few general notions are all that can be gathered. The Japanese plays appear to be mostly founded on national history or tradition, presenting the feats, exploits, and loves of ancient Japanese heroes and gods; a few, however, turn upon imaginary love-adventures, and others may be called didactic, being designed to illustrate and enforce some moral precept. The general tendency of these pieces is said to be excellent; although they are, as indeed they must necessarily be, so characteristic of the people, as to render the praise somewhat startling to minds more delicately organized than those of the Japanese. "They are often, very instructive and useful. In their heroic dramas, the thirst for revenge shines pre-eminent as a national characteristic, but always in union with a lofty courage. I saw a theatrical representation of one of their punishments by torture, which was astoundingly cruel."*

---

* Fischer.

These horrible as well as tragical scenes are blended, it seems with comedy; and any such law as that of the unities of time and place appears to be altogether unknown. One play often dramatizes the birth, life, and death of its hero, whilst the scene changes from island to island,

---

* Fischer.

and passes over to the continent, if it does not even ascend from earth to heaven, when the adventures of a deity form the subject.* The only additional information given touching the plays themselves is, that more than two persons are seldom, if ever, upon the stage at once.†

The actors are said to consider declamation as the "one thing needful" to their art; and from the astonishment expressed at their maintaining for a quarter of an hour together an unnaturally-raised, strained, and passionate tone of voice, it must be inferred that their style of declamation is ranting. What is esteemed the perfection of histrionic talent, however, is one actor's performing several different characters in one and the same piece. This frequent alternation of the parts played by one individual is of course much facilitated by the small number of persons who appear upon the stage together; and it is not unlikely to have given rise to a singular practice of the Japanese theatre: the performers are said frequently, if not habitually, to pass through the pit in their way on to the stage; the reason assigned for which is, that the audience may be the more familiarly acquainted with the costume and appearance of each character. If this species of knowledge is so much more difficult to be impressed upon a Japanese audience than upon any other, it must probably be from the frequent breaking of the association of each actor with his especial character, elsewhere established once for all for each play.

---

* Meylan. † Thunberg.

Actresses there are none in Japan; the female parts are therefore filled by boys; but it does not clearly appear whether this proceeds from the excessive fatigue of the profession in that country, to which no woman's strength is thought equal, or from the utter contempt in which actors, although extravagantly remunerated, are held, and which no woman can be suffered to incur. This contempt originates in an idea, that the man who will temporarily renounce his own character, and assume one foreign to his nature, for the amusement of others, can have no sense of honour: and, as a common consequence of being despised, the Japanese actors are said to be distinguished for immorality and licentiousness. In common justice to the players, the concluding remark of one of the Dutch critics,* who speaks contemptuously of their skill in the histrionic art, should be added: "This satisfactory and inartificial representation in all respects surpassed our expectations:" and also, perhaps, the somewhat qualified eulogy of an older writer: "The players, richly attired, represent on the stage all the transactions of mankind so well, that they are no ways inferior to any of our European comedians, but indeed, Indiik would have judged better of them could he have understood the Japan tongue."*

---

* Fischer.

But the most original point relative to the Japanese stage yet remains to be told. It is the mode, or rather the order, of performance. Three pieces are frequently represented the same day; not, as with us, successively, in wholes, but in portions or fragments, *viz.* first, the first act of one, then the first act of a second, then the first act of a third; then, returning to the first play, the second act of this first play, and, successively, the second acts of the second and third plays, and so on, till all three are completed. Thus any of the audience who wish only to see one of these pieces, or who dislike the confinement of sitting out the whole—it need hardly be said that the three tragi-comedies occupy great part of a day, from early in the afternoon to late in the evening—may withdraw to smoke, drink *sakee*, or attend to business, whilst the pieces they care not to see take their turn of representation, coming back refreshed to witness the next act of the favourite drama. The Japanese ladies, however, so far from objecting to the length of time to be spent in the theatre, appear to consider it as a peculiarly happy opportunity for displaying the stores of their respective wardrobes. They are attended to the theatre by their female servants, with an ample supply of dresses, and repeatedly change their attire in the course of the afternoon and evening.

---

* Ogilby.

The theatre is said to be a very favourite amusement of the Japanese, but it is also very costly; and, in that country, few persons, at least of the higher classes, can afford to indulge in unnecessary expences.

Before leaving Ohosaka, the Dutch deputation receive the goods bespoken on their way to Yedo. On the island of Nippon, they likewise provide themselves, amongst other things, with a stock of charcoal, an article of first necessity, and said to be very expensive at Dezima, whither all their purchases are despatched by water, along with the heavy baggage.

The last night of the journey, the travellers sleep at Yagami, where Nagasaki friends, interpreters, and others, meet to congratulate them upon the prosperous termination of their expedition. Here, too, their trunks and baggage are examined and sealed up; but the investigation is conducted with a forbearance that allows the prohibited wares, they are well known to contain, to pass undiscovered.

The next morning, every person acquainted with the Dutch, meets them between Yagami and Nagasaki. Upon the arrival of the bark with the remainder of the baggage, the president gives the *gobanyosi*, who had accompanied him, an entertainment. A few days afterwards, he pays the governor of Nagasaki a visit; and with that closes the ceremony of the periodical journey to Yedo.

As we are now to turn from the personal narrative of the Dutch (to adopt an expression of modern travellers), in order to take a somewhat methodized though summary view of the desultory information afforded us respecting the manners, government, language, arts, &c. of the Japanese, it may not be amiss here to insert a few matters relative to that personal narrative, which, however irrelevant to the Yedo journey, must not be omitted, as being illustrative both of the ingenuity of the Japanese, and of the friendliness of their nature, when not interfered with by their singular and rigid system of policy; and for which no fitter place offers.

One of the writers, who has supplied the materials for the present volume, Heer Doeff, resided at Dezima from the year 1799 till 1817; consequently, through nearly the whole of the period during which the subjection of Holland to France, and subsequent incorporation with Napoleon's empire, involved the former country in war with England. That war not only cost Holland most of her colonies, but interrupted her intercourse with those she retained, and also that of the colonies with each other. There were, accordingly, many years in which no ships from Batavia reached Dezima, and the factory remained destitute of sundry articles that are unknown in Japan, though almost necessaries of life to Europeans. Nor was this privation of comforts the most serious evil resulting from the partial or total cessation of intercourse. The tolerated strangers in Japan occasionally found themselves altogether destitute of either merchandize or salaries, wherewith to pay their daily expenses. This last formidable calamity was alleviated by the liberality of the Native Government, which at once ordered the factory to be supported in their temporary distress by the Nagasaki exchequer; and the governor sent regularly twice or thrice a week to inquire whether their purveyors duly supplied them, or they were in want of any thing; but the Dutchmen had wants that the purveyors could not supply. Though thus saved from all danger of perishing from hunger or from cold, the Dutch languished for butter and cheese, for beer, wine, gin, and brandy, for which potations they found *sakee* a poor substitute—the *sakee*, it should be said, is always drunk warm, as is every Japanese beverage, water included. The edible luxuries were wholly and absolutely unattainable, inasmuch as the Japanese hold themselves so deeply indebted to the race of horned cattle for their services in agricultural and other labour, that it would be an act of base and criminal ingratitude either to eat their flesh* or to rob their young of the mother's milk. The use of milk, in any form, is therefore unknown, or if known, prohibited in Japan. With respect to drink, the case was less desperate. "They made every exertion to relieve, as far as possible, the disagreeableness of our dismal situation. The spy, Sige Dennozen, amongst other things, took great pains to distil us some gin, for which purpose I lent him a large still and a tin worm that I chanced to possess. He succeeded tolerably, though he could not get rid of the resinous taste of the juniper berries; but he produced corn-brandy that was really excellent. He likewise endeavoured to make us wine from the grapes of wild vines; but in this his efforts were less happy. He obtained, indeed, a red juice that fermented; but it was not wine.†

---

* See Note XII.

† Doeff.

CHAPTER VII.

SOCIAL AND DOMESTIC LIFE.

Condition of Women. — Customs preceding and accompanying Birth.—Naming the baby. — Treatment of children.—Education.—Abdomen ripping.—Evil eye.—Change of name.—Marriage. — Courtship. — Marriage-brokers. — Presents. — Wedding. — Abdication of heads of families. — Duties of politeness. — Correspondence. — Presents. — Visits. — Banquets.—Tea-drinking.—Amusements.—Music.—Dancing. — Games.—Forfeits.—Intoxication. — Rural and water parties. Retailers of gossip, teachers of good manners.—*Nayboen* or underhand death.—Ceremonies in the house of death.—Obsequies.—Mourning.

We are now to seek such information concerning the social, political, and religious condition of the Japanese, as can be gathered from the different members of the factory; and it is scarcely necessary to say, that a very ample harvest cannot be expected to repay the search. The mode of existence to which the Dutch residents at Dezima are condemned, does not authorize the anticipation of its being in their power to present us with a very complete picture, moral or physical, of the Japanese empire. They have, however, notwithstanding every disadvantage, seeing something and hearing more, collected a good deal of matter, which, methodized and arranged, may afford at least a general view of this extraordinary nation, whose really high state of civilization is so very dissimilar both to our own and to that of every other people with whom we are familiarly acquainted.

Our gleanings with respect to the domestic and social life of the Japanese shall first be presented, as being the part of the national idiosyncracy that first strikes the stranger, and by its very singularity awakens his curiosity to investigate the political and religious causes in which much of this singularity originates. But, in order to convey any sort of connected notion upon the subject, some degree of unity must be given to the sketch; and the most effectual way of accomplishing this, will, perhaps, be, to take the Japanese gentleman at his birth, and trace him, as we best can, through childhood, youth, and manhood, to his grave. But so much of the difference between Asiatic and European, as well as between ancient and modern, civilization, appears to be intimately connected with, if not actually to result from, the different treatment and appreciation of woman in Asia and in Europe, in ancient and in modern times, that the condition of the female sex in Japan must be first taken into consideration, as far as means for ascertaining it are within reach.

The position of women in Japan seems to be unlike what it is in all other parts of the East, and to constitute a sort of intermediate link between their European and their Asiatic conditions. On the one hand, Japanese women are subjected to no seclusion; they hold a fair station in society, and share in all the innocent recreations of their fathers and husbands. The fidelity of the wife and the purity of the maiden are committed wholly to their own sense of honour, somewhat quickened, perhaps, and invigorated, by the certainty that death would be the inevitable and immediate consequence of a detected lapse from chastity. And so well is this confidence repaid, that a faithless wife is, we are universally assured, a phenomenon unknown in Japan. The minds of the women are as carefully cultivated as those of the men; and amongst the most admired authors, historians, moralists, and poets, are found several female names. In general, the Japanese ladies are described as lively and agreeable companions, and the elegance with which they do the honours of their houses, has been highly eulogized.

But if thus permitted to enjoy and adorn society, they are, on the other hand, held during their whole lives in a state of tutelage, of complete dependence upon their husbands, sons, or other relations. They are without legal rights, and their evidence is inadmissible in a court of justice. Not only may the husband introduce as many subsidiary, unwedded helpmates as he pleases into the mansion over which his wife presides, — and these women, though inferior to her in rank, dignity, and domestic authority, in proof of which, they are not permitted to shave their eyebrows, are not deemed criminal or dishonoured — he has also a power of divorce, which may be called unlimited, since the only limitation proceeds from his sense of economy and expediency. A husband must support his repudiated wife according to his own station, unless he can allege grounds for the divorce, satisfactory to a Japanese tribunal; among which grounds, barrenness is one that leaves the unfortunate, childless wife, no claim to any kind of maintenance. Under no circumstance, upon no plea whatever, can a wife demand a separation from her husband. At home, the wife is mistress of the family; but, in other respects, she is treated rather as a toy for her husband's recreation, than as the rational, confidential partner of his life. She is to amuse him by her accomplishments, to cheer him with her lively conversation, not to relieve, by sharing, his anxieties and cares. So far from being admitted like Portia, to 'partake the secrets of his heart,' she is kept in profound ignorance of his affairs, public or private; and a question relative to any such matters, would be resented as an act of unpardonable presumption and audacity.

Turn we now to the life of a Japanese, and the ceremonious observances that nearly fill it. These begin prior even to birth, and, indeed, with the very incipiency of existence.

Upon the first symptoms of pregnancy,* a girdle of braided red crape is bound round the future mother's body, immediately below the bosom. This is performed in great ceremony, with religious rites appointed for the occasion; and the selection of the person who presents the girdle is a point of extreme importance and dignity. This singular custom is, by learned Japanese, said to be practised in honour of the widow of a *mikado*, who, some sixteen centuries ago, upon her husband's death, being then in an advanced state of pregnancy, thus girding herself, took his vacant place at the head of his army, and completed the conquest of Corea. It is to be observed, however, that this lady was impelled to the girding in question, by a motive peculiar to herself. She had prayed to the gods to postpone her confinement, lest it should impede her military operations; and her adoption of this tight fillcting must be considered as in the nature either of a vow, to induce the gods to grant her petition, or of a mean to facilitate the miracle she solicited. The name of this Amazon, herself of the *mikado* blood, was Sin-Gou-Kwo-Gou, and her exploits were rewarded with sovereignty. Whether she was actually acknowledged as a *mikado,* seems to be a disputed point amongst Japanese historians; but she certainly governed the empire during the remainder of her life, sixty-nine years, and, dying at the age of one hundred, was succeeded by the son she had borne to her husband after his death.[*] Both mother and son are deified. The more vulgar opinion represents the girding as a mere physical precaution, by which the unborn babe is prevented from stealing the food out of the mother's throat, and so starving her to death! But whichever be the cause, the red fillet must remain, as at first fastened, until the birth of the infant.

---

* Meylan and Fischer.

Upon the occurrence of this happy event, the mother is relieved from her long-endured binding; but her sufferings from ceremonious or superstitious observances, are not yet over. She is forthwith placed in an upright sitting posture upon the bed,[†] fixed in it by bags of rice under each arm, and at her back; and thus is she compelled to remain during nine whole days and nights, most sparingly fed, and actually kept wide awake, lest, by dropping asleep, she should in some way alter the prescribed position. Perhaps the most extraordinary part of the whole business is, that no ill effect is said to ensue to the patient. It is to be observed, however, that Japanese women recover more slowly than those of other countries, from parturition; probably, in consequence of this severe treatment. For one hundred days after her delivery, the recent mother is considered as an invalid, and nursed as such; at the end of that period only, she resumes her household duties, visits the temple frequented by her family, and performs her pilgrimage, or any other act of devotion that she may have vowed in her hour of peril.

---

[*] Klaproth.

[†] Meylan and Fischer.

The infant, immediately upon its birth, is bathed, and remains free from all swathing and clothing that could impede the growth and developement of body or limb. Upon one occasion only, is this early state of freedom interrupted, and that occasion is the bestowing a name upon the new member of society. This takes place on the thirty-first day of a boy's age, on the thirtieth of a girl's. Upon the appointed day, the babe is carried in state to the family temple; the servants follow, bearing a whole infantine wardrobe, by the abundance of which the father's wealth and dignity are estimated. Last in the procession walks a maid servant, with a box in her hand, containing money for the fee of the officiating priestess, and a slip of paper, on which are inscribed three names. These names* the priestess submits, with prescribed rites, to the god to whom the temple is dedicated; then announces which of the three is selected, and confers it on the child, whom she sprinkles with water. Sacred songs, chanted to an instrumental accompaniment, conclude the naming ceremony. The infant is then carried to several other temples, and, for its final visit, to the house of the father's nearest kinsman. He presents it with a bundle of hemp, destined symbolically to spin it a long life, talismans, relics, and other valuables; to which he adds, if his new-born relation be a boy, two fans (as representatives of swords), implying courage; if a girl, a shell of paint, implying beauty.

In the unconfined state above described, the child continues for three years, at the expiration of which the clothes are bound at the waist with a girdle. Religious rites accompany this first girding, and the child is now taught to pray. At seven years old the boy receives the mantle of ceremony, and, what could hardly have been surmised, from the great importance apparently attached to the choice of the name given the baby, a new name. For this change, likewise, there is an appropriate religious ceremony; and, to avoid repetition, it may be said, once for all, that every change, every epoch in Japanese life, is consecrated by the rites of the national religion. After the reception of the mantle of ceremony, a boy is permitted to perform his devotions regularly at the temple.

---

* Siebold.

Children are trained in habits of implicit obedience, which, independently of any beneficial effects on the future character that may be expected, Japanese parents value as obviating the necessity of punishment. Children of both sexes, and of all ranks, are almost invariably sent to the inferior or primary schools, where they learn to read and write, and acquire some knowledge of the history of their own country. For the lower orders this is deemed sufficient education; but of thus much, it is positively asserted,* that not a day labourer in Japan is destitute. The children of the higher orders proceed from these schools to others of a superior description, where they are carefully instructed in morals and manners, including the whole science of good-breeding, the minutest laws of etiquette, the forms of behaviour, as graduated towards every individual of the whole human race, by relation, rank, and station; including also a thorough knowledge of the almanack, since it would be as vulgarly disgraceful as it could be disastrous, to marry, begin a journey, or take any other important step, upon an unlucky day. Boys are further taught arithmetic, and the whole mystery of the *Hara-kiri*, literally meaning, we are told, 'happy dispatch;'[*] but the proper appellation of the abdomen-ripping, by which a well-born man is often compelled to terminate his existence. They are taught not only the proper mode of performing the operation, and the several accompanying ceremonials, varying with the occasion, and with the consequent publicity or privacy, but also the nature of the occasions, *i.e.* of the causes and situations, which render this form of suicide imperative upon a gentleman. Girls, in lieu of this fearful indoctrination, receive lessons in the craft of the needle, with every species of ornamental work, in the service and management of a house, and in whatever it is thought may be useful to them as mothers and mistresses of families.

---

* Meylan.

During this period of their lives, Japanese children are very ill-dressed. Even when accompanying their splendidly-attired mothers through the streets, their shabby appearance offers a disagreeable contrast to hers. The object of this is to prevent the noxious effects of the admiration which, if well-dressed, their beauty might excite; and it is not a little curious thus to find the same strange superstition of the evil eye, in the most remote and dissimilar countries, where intercommunication seems to be impossible.

At fifteen, education is deemed complete. The boy, as of man's estate, now takes his place in society; his head is shaved in Japanese fashion, and again he receives a new name. But even this third name is not destined to be permanent. Upon every advance in official rank—and half the Japanese above the working classes appear to hold office—the placeman takes a new name. Nor is it only upon an occasion thus agreeable, that he must change his designation; no official subaltern may bear the same name with his chief; so that whenever a new individual is appointed to a high post, every man under him who chances to be his namesake must immediately assume a new denomination. The system of changing the name with the post, extends even to the throne, and occasions great perplexity to the student of Japanese history, whose undivided attention is requisite to trace, for instance, the progress of an usurper through all his varying appellations.

---

[*] Ogilby.

Marriage* is contracted early; but as a *més-alliance* is held to be utterly disgraceful, persons even of the middle classes of society, are not unfrequently reduced to the necessity of espousing, like princes, those whom they have never seen. Thus the treasurer of Nagasaki, whose rank is not so high as to require the detention of his family at Yedo, has no precise equal in the place; consequently, his children cannot ally themselves with the young people in the town, their acquaintance and associates, but he must procure them wives and husbands out of the families of men of his own rank in distant cities or provinces.

---

* Meylan.

When no such obstacle prevents "the course of true love" from running "smooth," and a youth has fixed his affections upon a maiden of suitable condition, he declares his passion by affixing a branch of a certain shrub (the *Celastrus alatus*) to the house of the damsel's parents. If the branch be neglected, the suit is rejected; if it be accepted, so is the lover; and if the young lady wishes to express reciprocal tenderness, she forthwith blackens her teeth; but she must not pluck out her eye-brows until the wedding shall have been actually celebrated.

When the branch is accepted, in the one case, or the parents have agreed to unite their children, in the other, a certain number of male friends of the bridegroom, and as many female friends of the bride, are appointed as marriage-brokers. These persons discuss and arrange the terms of the marriage-contract; and when they have agreed upon these, they carefully select two auspicious days; the first for an interview between the affianced pair, the second for the wedding.

At this stage of the proceedings the bridegroom sends presents, as costly as his means will allow, to the bride; which she immediately offers to her parents, in acknowledgment of their kindness in her infancy, and of the pains bestowed upon her education. Thus, although a Japanese lady is not subjected to the usual Oriental degradation of being actually purchased of her father by her husband, a handsome daughter is still considered as rather an addition than otherwise to the fortune of the family. The bride is not, however, transferred quite empty-handed to her future home. Besides sending a few trifles to the bridegroom, in return for his magnificent gifts, the parents of the bride, after ceremoniously burning their daughter's childish toys, in token of her change of condition, provide her a handsome *trousseau*, and bestow upon her many articles of household furniture—if the word "many" can apply to articles of furniture, where the handsomely-matted floor answers the purpose of chairs, tables, sofas, and bedsteads. Those given on the occasion in question always include a spinning-wheel, a loom, and the culinary implements requisite in a Japanese kitchen. The whole of this bridal equipment is conveyed in great state to the bridegroom's house, on the wedding-day, and there exhibited.

With respect to the marriage-rites, some little difficulty is created by Titsingh's intimation, that no religious solemnization takes place; but it is easy to conceive that, in such a country as Japan especially, a foreigner, even the head of the factory, should have been often invited to the formal ceremonies with which the bride is installed in her new home, without ever witnessing, or even hearing of, the earlier religious celebration. In fact, Meylan distinctly states, that marriage, although a mere civil contract, is consecrated by a priest. Fischer adds, that it must be registered in the temple to which the young couple belong; and from the Swedish traveller of the last century, Thunberg, as also from old Montanus, we have a description of the religious solemnity. This appears to consist in the prayers and benedictions of the priests, accompanied by a formal kindling of bridal torches, the bride's from the altar, the bridegroom's from her's; after which, the pair are pronounced man and wife.

But the business of the day by no means terminates with this declaration. The bride is attired in white, to typify her purity, and covered from head to foot with a white veil. This veil is her destined shroud, which is assumed at the moment of exchanging a paternal for a conjugal home, in token that the bride is thenceforward dead to her own family, belonging wholly to the husband to whom she is about to be delivered up. In this garb she is seated in a palanquin of the higher class, and carried forth, escorted by the marriage-brokers, by her family, and by the friends bidden to the wedding feast; the men all in their dress of ceremony, the women in their gayest, gold-bordered robes. The procession parades through the greater part of the town, affording an exceedingly pretty spectacle.

Upon reaching the bridegroom's house, the bride, still in her future shroud, is accompanied by two playfellows of her girlhood into the state room, where, in the post of honour, sits the bridegroom, with his parents and nearest relations. In the centre of the apartment stands a beautifully-wrought table, with miniature representations of a fir-tree, a plum-tree in blossom, cranes and tortoises, the emblems, respectively, of man's strength, of woman's beauty, and of long and happy life. Upon another table stands all the apparatus for *sakee* drinking. Beside this last table the bride takes her stand; and now begins a pouring out, presenting, and drinking of *sakee*, amidst formalities, numerous and minute beyond description or conception, in which the bride-maids (as they may be called), under the titles, for the nonce, of male and female butterflies,[*] bear an important part, which it must require many a school-rehearsal to perfect. This drinking finished in due form, the ceremonial is completed. The wedding guests now appear, and the evening is spent in eating, and drinking *sakee*.[†] The wedding feast is, however, said usually to consist of very simple fare,[‡] in honour of the frugality and simplicity of the early Japanese, which many of the customs still prevalent are designed to commemorate. Three days afterwards the bride and bridegroom pay their respects to the lady's family, and the wedding forms are over.

---

[*] Titsingh. [†] Siebold. [‡] Fischer.

Whether the house in which the young wife is thus domiciliated be her husband's or his father's, if yet living, depends upon whether that father has or has not been yet induced, by the vexations, burthens, and restrictions attached to the condition of head of a family, to resign that dignity to his son. These annoyances, increasing with the rank of the parties, are said to be such, that almost every father in Japan, of the higher orders, at least, looks impatiently for the day when he shall have a son of age to take his place, he himself, together with his wife and younger children, becoming thenceforward dependents upon that son. And among such a whole nation of Lears, we are assured that no Regans and Gonerils, of either sex, have ever been known to disgrace human nature.

The life of Japanese ladies and gentlemen, however the latter may be thus harassed, is little disturbed by business; even government offices, from the number of occupants, giving little to do — their time is therefore pretty much divided between the duties of ceremonious politeness and amusement. Amongst the former may be reckoned correspondence, chiefly in notes, and the making of presents, both which are constantly going on; the last regulated by laws as immutable as are all those governing life in Japan. There are specific occasions upon which the nature of the gifts to be interchanged is invariably fixed; upon others, this is left to the choice of the donor, save and except that a superior must always bestow objects of utility upon an inferior, who must, in return, offer rarities and useless prettinesses. Between equals, the value of the gift is immaterial; a couple of quires of paper, or a dozen of eggs, are a very sufficient present, so they be arranged in a beautiful box, tied with silk cord, placed upon a handsome tray, and accompanied with a knot of coloured paper, emblematic of luck. They must, indeed, be likewise accompanied, as must every present of the least or the greatest value, with a slice of dried fish, of the coarsest description. This same coarse fish is, moreover, an indispensable dish at the most sumptuous banquets; and though no one is expected to eat it, is thus constantly brought under notice, in commemoration of the frugality of the early Japanese, whose chief food it constituted. Upon one festival day, every body presents a cake to every friend and acquaintance.

Social intercourse among the Japanese seems at first sight to be entirely governed by ceremony.* Two gentlemen meeting in the street must bow low, remain for some instants in their bowing attitude, and part with a similar bow, from which they must not straighten themselves so long as, by looking back, they can see each other. In a morning call, the visitor and the visited begin by sitting down on their heels facing each other; then, placing their hands on the ground, they simultaneously bow down their heads, as close as possible to their knees. Next follow verbal compliments, answered, on either side, by a muttered, "*He, he, he!*" then pipes and tea are brought in, and it is not till all this is duly performed, that any thing in the nature of conversation may be attempted. In the conversation, when it ensues upon these or more formal occasions, the Japanese are careful not to annoy their friends with complaints of private troubles or vexations; but, even under heavy afflictions, assume in company a cheerful countenance. The ceremony of a morning call ends by serving up, on a sheet of white paper, confectionery or other dainties, to be eaten with chop-sticks. What he cannot eat, the visitor carefully folds up in paper, and deposits in his pocket-sleeve. This practice of carrying away what is not eaten is so established a rule of Japanese good breeding, that, at grand dinners, the guests are expected to bring servants, with baskets, properly arranged for receiving the remnants of the feast.

---

* Fischer.

At entertainments of this description, each guest is served with a portion of every dish in a small bowl. Another bowl is placed beside him, and kept constantly replenished with rice, whilst the sauces and other condiments, of which, besides soy, are salted ginger and salted fish, are handed round by the servants of both sexes, who are in constant attendance. The viands consist of every kind of vegetable, sea-weeds not excepted—of game, including venison, poultry, and fish. This last, however, is the standing dish at every Japanese table, answering to the English joint of meat. Every species is eaten, down to the very coarsest; the lower orders feasting upon all parts of the whale, even upon the sediment from which the oil has been extracted. But to return to the entertainment.

At these banquets, all the dishes are said to be tricked out with gold leaf, and upon very grand occasions, the bills, legs, and claws of the birds served up, are gilt. The dinner usually consists of seven or eight courses, during the changing of which the master of the house walks round, drinking a cup of *sakee* with each guest. But the grand object in giving a dinner is said to be less the assembling a cheerful party, than the exhibition of the abundance, variety, and magnificence of the china and lackered-ware—called by us Japan—possessed by the founder of the feast; and no compliment is so agreeable or flattering to the master or mistress of the house, as admiration of the table-service, and inquiries concerning the price of the different articles.

Tea, made in the ordinary way, or boiled in the tea-kettle, is drunk at all meals, and indeed all day long, by all classes. But there is another mode of preparing tea, which, on account of its expense, through the various utensils and implements employed in its concoction, all of which Japanese etiquette requires to be ornamental and costly, is wholly confined to the higher ranks, and by them given only upon grand occasions, and in great ceremony. It may be called the form of *un Thé* in Japan. The expense must consist wholly in the splendour of the lackered bowls, silken napkins. &c., without which this tea cannot be offered, since the materials and process, as described, convey no idea of extravagance. The finest kinds of tea are ground to powder; a teaspoonful of this powder is put into a bowl, boiling water is poured upon it, and the whole is whipped with split bamboo till it creams. The tea thus made is said to be a very agreeable, but very heating beverage.

When company are invited to such a tea-drinking, the room in which they are received must be some one of the ladies present is not capable of *improvising* a song, should opportunity offer.

The dancing is of the Oriental style, and depending upon the arms and body, rather than the feet, which remain nearly immovable, and concealed, as usual, beneath the robes. It is, in fact, pantomimic in character, and generally designed to represent some scene of passion, of absurdity, or of every-day life. These domestic *ballets* are performed by the ladies, the men gazing in rapturous admiration; although the utmost praise their Dutch visitors can bestow upon the exhibition is, that it is perfectly free, as might be anticipated from the character of the dancers, from the indecent and licentious character of those of the Oriental dancing-girls. The country does not appear, however, to be destitute of this class of performers.

Cards and dice are prohibited; and although the law is said to be secretly transgressed in gaming-houses, at home the Japanese respect it, and resort to other kinds of games. Chess and draughts are great favourites, as is one resembling the Italian *moro.*† Another game seems original. A puppet is floated in a vessel of water, round which the company stand, playing the *syamsie* and singing as the puppet moves. As it turns, penalties of *sakee*-drinking are imposed, as in wrong guesses at the Japanese *moro*, and the like opportunities for forfeits. Upon occasions of this kind, the trammels of ceremony are completely broken, and the most extravagant merriment prevails, often ending in results, very contrary to our English notions of the temperance of tropical and Oriental climates. *Sakee* is drunk, as a penalty or voluntarily, to intoxication by the men, who then sober themselves with tea, and again inebriate themselves with *sakee*, until, after several repetitions of the two processes, they are carried away insensible.

---

* Fischer.

In summer, their joyous meetings usually take the form of rustic, and especially water, parties, formed expressly for the enjoyment of fine scenery. Large companies will spend the afternoon, evening, and part of the night, upon the lakes, rivers, or innumerable bays of the sea, in their highly ornamented boats, with music and banquets. During the heat of the day, they lie moored in some shady nook, protected from the sun's rays, but open to the sea-breeze, whence they command a pleasing view. In the evening, the waters are all alive with music, and illuminated with the moving light from the coloured paper lanterns of the several boats.

In order to divert the company, should conversation flag, and their own music pall on the ear, professional musicians, jugglers, posture-makers, and the like, are hired for the day. To these are added a variety of the story-telling genus, very different in character from the species ordinarily found in the East. These persons make it their especial business to learn, not romances, but all the gossip of a neighbourhood, which they retail for the entertainment of their employers. Some of these traders in scandal are frequently hired to relieve the tedium of a sick-room; but those engaged to divert a party of pleasure, have a second and somewhat startling duty — it is, to set an example of politeness and high breeding, to improve the tone of the society that requires their services. These several, and not very homogeneous functions they are said to combine in a most extraordinary manner. We are assured that, although, in their capacity of amusers, they indulge in extravagant buffoonery, rudeness, and impudence, they remain perfectly self-possessed, and, at the proper moment, resuming their polished demeanour, recall the whole company to order and good breeding.

From the pleasures and forms that mainly occupy the life of a Japanese, we must now turn to its closing scene; and, having begun with his birth, end the chapter with his burial. But first, we must advert to the length of time during which death occasionally precedes interment. Many Japanese of the higher order die *nayboen*, either in the course of nature or by their own hands. If a man holding office dies, his death is concealed — it is *nayboen* — and family life proceeds apparently as usual, till the reversion of his place has been obtained for his son. If such a person be deeply in debt, the same course is adopted for the benefit of his creditors, who receive his salary, whilst he, though well known to be dead, is nominally alive. Again, if he has incurred any disfavour, or committed any offence, the conviction of which would be attended with disgraceful punishment, confiscation, and corruption of blood, he probably rips himself up, either in his family circle, if any good to his family be contingent upon his death's remaining for a time *nayboen*, or publicly, in a solemn assembly of his friends, if the object be solely the satisfaction of justice, and the obviating of punishment. The *hara-kiri* operation is, upon some occasions, performed in a temple, after a splendid entertainment, given to and shared with relations, friends, and the priests of the temple.

When the necessity for the *nayboen* ceases, or when a Japanese openly dies, either naturally or by the national *hara-kiri*, the first symptom of mourning that appears,* is the turning all the screens and sliding doors throughout the house topsy-turvy, and all garments inside out. A priest then takes his place by the corpse. The family is supposed to be too much absorbed in sorrow to admit of their attending to the minor cares and preparations requisite upon the melancholy occasion; wherefore, they are permitted to weep in unmolested solitude, whilst their most intimate friends supply their places in all matters of business or ceremony. One of these kind substitutes directs the laying out of the corpse, whilst another orders the funeral. One stations himself at the house-door, in his dress of ceremony, to receive the formal visits of condolence paid by all the friends and acquaintance of the deceased, but paid outside the door, to avoid the impurity incurred by entering the house of death. The digging of the grave is superintended by a fourth friend. This is situated in the grounds of a temple, is shaped like a well, and lined with strong cement, to prevent the infiltration of water. If the deceased be married, the grave is usually made sufficiently capacious to receive husband and wife. A monument is prepared, bearing the name of the deceased, and, if married, the name of the survivor is added in red letters, to be blackened, or sometimes gilt, when this surviving partner shall rejoin in the grave the partner who has gone before.

---

* Meylan.

When all preparations are completed, the corpse, washed, and clad in a white shroud, on which the priest has inscribed some sacred characters, as a sort of passport to heaven, is placed, in the sitting posture of the country, in a tub-shaped coffin, which is enclosed in an earthenware vessel of corresponding figure; and the funeral-procession begins. This is opened by a number of torch-bearers, who are followed by a large company of priests, bearing their sacred books, incense, &c. Then comes a crowd of servants carrying bamboo poles, to which are attached lanterns, umbrellas, and strips of white paper inscribed with sacred sentences. These immediately precede the corpse in its round coffin, borne upon a bier, and covered with a sort of white paper chest, having a dome-fashioned roof, over which a garland is suspended from a bamboo carried by a servant. Immediately behind the body walk the friends and acquaintance of the deceased, in their dress of ceremony, accompanying, attending, and surrounding the masculine portion of the family and kindred, who are attired in mourning garments of pure white. White mourning is also worn by the bearers and household servants of the deceased. The procession is closed by the ladies of the family and their female friends, each in her own palanquin, attended by her female servants. The palanquins (*norimonos*) of relations are distinguished from those of friends by the white mourning dresses of the attendants. In families of lower rank, the female relations and their friends walk after the men.

The sorrowful train is met at the temple by another detachment of priests, who perform a funeral service, and the corpse is interred to a peculiar sort of funeral music, produced by striking copper basins. During this ceremony, two persons, deputed from the house of death, sit in a side chamber of the temple, with writing materials, to note down the names of every friend and acquaintance who has attended.

In former times, obsequies were, in many various ways, far more onerous; for it seems that, even in secluded and immutable Japan, lapse of years has wrought its ordinary, softening effect, and lessened the propensity to make great sacrifices, either of life or property. In the early times alluded to,* the dead man's house was burnt, except so much of it as was used in constructing his monument. Now it is merely purified, by kindling before it a great fire, in which odoriferous oils and spices are burnt. At that period, servants were buried with their masters, originally, alive; then, as gentler manners arose, they were permitted to kill themselves first; and that they should be thus buried, was, in both cases, expressly stipulated when they were hired.

---

* Siebold.

Now, effigies are happily substituted for the living men.

The mourning is said by some of our writers to last forty-nine days; but this must mean the general mourning of the whole family, inasmuch as Dr. von Siebold expressly states that very near relations remain impure—which, in Japan, is the same thing—as much as thirteen months. It appears, also, that there are two periods of mourning in Japan, as with us, a deeper and a subsequent lighter mourning, which may help to explain the discrepancy. During the specified forty-nine days, all the kindred of the deceased repair daily to the tomb, there to pray and offer cakes of a peculiar kind, as many in number as days have elapsed since the funeral; thus presenting forty-nine on the forty-ninth day. On the fiftieth day, the men shave their heads and beards, which had remained unshorn and untrimmed during the seven weeks. All signs of mourning are laid aside, and men and women resume the ordinary business of life, their first duty being to pay visits of thanks to all who attended the funeral. It should be added, however, that for half a century the children and grand-children of the deceased continue to make offerings at the tomb.

CHAPTER VIII.

POLITICAL STATE OF JAPAN.

Government. — Peculiarity of Japanese despotism. — Feudal tenures.—*Mikado.*—*Ziogoon.*—Council of State.—Its constitution and power.—Governor of the Empire.—Consequence of a difference of opinion between the *Ziogoon* and the Council. —Vassal princes.—Ministers forced upon them.—Annoyances to which they are subjected.—Modes of impoverishment. — Lordships. —Imperial governments.—Official establishment at Nagasaki. — Municipal authorities. — Mutual espial.—Its effects.—Classification of the Japanese.—Princes. —Nobles.—Priests.—Military tenants.—Inferior officials and medical profession.—Superior traders.—Inferior traders, artisans and artists.—Peasantry.—Degradation of dealers in leather.—Administration of justice.—Executions.—Torture. —Prisons.

THE government of Japan is usually supposed to be, like that of most Oriental states, despotic; and so in fact it is, although the received idea of despotism requires some little modification to render it perfectly applicable to the sovereign authority ruling Japan. We must especially abstract from that idea one of its greatest evils, and one which is habitually, whether or not justly, conceived to be inseparable from, if not an essential part of, despotism—namely, its arbitrariness. Liberty is, indeed, unknown in Japan; it exists not even in the common intercourse of man with man; and the very idea of freedom, as distinguished from rude licence, could, perhaps, hardly be made intelligible to a native of that extraordinary empire. But, on the other hand, no individual in the whole nation, high or low, is above the law; both sovereigns, the supreme *mikado*, and his lieutenant-master the *ziogoon*, seeming to be as completely enthralled by Japanese despotism as the meanest of their subjects, if not more so. If it be asked, how despotism can exist, unless wielded by a despotic sovereign, either monarch, oligarchy, or democracy, which last may be interpreted *demagogue;* the answer is, that, at least at this present time, law and established custom, unvarying, known to all, and pressing upon all alike, are the despots of Japan. Scarcely an action of life is exempt from their rigid, inflexible, and irksome control; but he who complies with their dictates has no arbitrary power, no capricious tyranny to apprehend. Early writers, however, certainly do speak of the *ziogoon's* power as being arbitrary as well as absolute, and it is possible that the actual form may have grown out of the gradual degeneracy of the reigning dynasty; but it must be recollected, on the other hand, that those early writers spoke of usurpers, and that the energy which seizes upon the throne, will scarcely submit to the control of law and custom.

Japan is a feudal empire, according to the very spirit of feudality. The *mikado*, as the successor and representative of the gods, is the nominal proprietor, as well as sovereign, of the realm; the *ziogoon*, his deputy or vicegerent. His dominions are divided, with the exception of the portion reserved to the crown, into principalities, held in vassalage by their respective hereditary princes. Under them, the land is parcelled out amongst the nobility, who hold their hereditary estates by military service.

The utter impotence for good or for evil of the nominally all-powerful *mikado*, has been sufficiently shown in a former chapter, as also the perpetual thraldom in which he is held by the very honours paid him. It is, probably, the ever-recurring annoyance of these troublesome honours, that still induces the *mikado* frequently to abdicate in favour of a son or a daughter. If even by this step he gains very little that can be called liberty, he at least escapes from his task of diurnal immobility, and is no longer, it may be hoped, actually restrained from all locomotion.

The next personage to be noticed, in speaking of the political condition of Japan, is the *mikado's* vicegerent, the *ziogoon*, or *koebo*, the names being indifferently given him, without any clear explanation of diversity of signification between them. Klaproth, however, indicates *ziogoon* as the more appropriate title; an opinion which is corroborated by the assertion of some of the older writers, that *koebo* is the especial designation of a *ziogoon* who has abdicated. This supposed virtually-absolute sovereign, who is still so called by many writers, we shall find, upon carefully examining the details given by those same writers, to be nearly as destitute of real power, as much secluded from the public eye, and as much enmeshed in the inextricable web of law and custom, as his nominal master.

The *ziogoon*[*] scarcely ever stirs beyond the precincts of his spacious palace enclosure; even his religious pilgrimages, and his journeys to Miyako to do homage, or, in Japanese phrase, make his compliment, to the *mikado*, being now performed by deputy. The business of government is represented as wholly unworthy of engaging his thoughts; and his time is said to be so skilfully occupied, as scarcely to leave him leisure, had he the wish, to attend to the affairs of the empire. The mere official duties of ceremony imposed upon the *ziogoon*—the observances of etiquette, the receiving the homage, or compliment, and the presents of those permitted and bound to offer both, upon frequently recurring festival days and the like—are represented as sufficient fully to occupy three individuals. These important ceremonies are regulated and conducted by a host of courtiers, holding what we should call household offices, and always about the person of the *ziogoon*. But lest any notion of degradation in this actual nullity, any perception of being, like the *mikado*, but the shadow of a sovereign, should germinate in the imperial breast, or be planted there by some ambitious favourite, both the *ziogoon* and his court are constantly surrounded and watched by the innumerable spies of the council of state, which now constitutes the real executive power.

---

[*] Fischer.

The numbers of the council of state are differently given by different writers; but the best authority makes them thirteen—to wit, five* councillors of the first class, uniformly selected from the princes of the empire, and eight of the second class, similarly selected from the nobility, if their offices cannot be termed actually hereditary, as there occasionally seems reason to think them. Other ministers are mentioned, who do not appear to be comprehended in the council; these are the temple lords, who seem to be laymen, though the actual regulators of all religious matters, and the two ministers, called by some writers commissioners for foreign affairs, by others lieutenants of police, or heads of the spies; and, indeed, the concerns of Japan with foreigners should naturally belong rather to the police department than to any especial ministerial office. The councillors of both classes are almost always chosen from amongst the descendants of those princes and nobles who distinguished themselves as partisans of the founder of the present *ziogoon* dynasty, during the civil war that preceded, and the intrigues that assisted his usurpation. Over the council presides a councillor of the highest class, and he is invariably a descendant of Ino-Kamon-no-Kami, a minister who rendered an essential service to the same usurper's posterity. This president is entitled Governor of the Empire; and his office, if resembling that of an European premier, or rather of an Oriental vizier, appears even to transcend both in authority. All the other councillors, all and every department of administration are subordinate to him; no affair can be undertaken without his concurrence; and a notion is said to prevail in Japan, that he is individually empowered to depose a *ziogoon* who should govern ill, and to substitute another, of course the legal heir, in his place; but this is manifestly a mistaken or confused conception of a power vested in the whole council,—though possibly exercised by their president—which will presently be explained, and which it will then appear is not held gratuitously.

---

* Siebold.

This council of state transacts the whole business of government; decides upon every measure, sanctions or reverses every sentence of death pronounced by an imperial governor, appoints to all efficient offices, corresponds with the local authorities; and, upon the occurrence in any part of Japan of any matter in which the course to be pursued is not clearly marked out by law or precedent, must be consulted, and pronounce its decree, before a single step be taken by even the highest local officers. Each councillor has his own specific department, for which, in the common routine, he alone is responsible; but the measures of which, upon any important point, must be discussed, and adopted or rejected, by the whole body of his colleagues, headed by their president.

When any proposition has been duly investigated and determined upon by the council, the resolution taken is laid before the *ziogoon* for his approval. This usually follows, as a matter of course, nine times in ten without the monarch's even inquiring what he is called upon to confirm. But if, by some extraordinary accident, he should chance to trouble himself about the concerns of his empire, and, either upon rational grounds or through caprice, withhold the fiat requested, the proceeding consequent upon the difference of opinion between the monarch and his ministers is prescribed by law. The measure is not at once abandoned, as might be imagined by persons thinking of the *ziogoon* as a despotic sovereign; it is, on the contrary, referred to the arbitration of three princes of the blood, the nearest kinsmen of the monarch, his probable heir, in default of a son, being one, if of sufficient age. The sentence of these arbitrators, whatever it be, and whatever be the question submitted to them, is not only final, but fraught with important, and, to European minds, painful results.

Should their verdict coincide with the sentiments of the council, the *ziogoon* has no alternative; he may not revoke his previous refusal, and yield to the united judgment of his ministers and the arbitrators, but must immediately abdicate in favour of his son or other legal heir. Such an abdication, for various causes, is an act so constantly recurring, that it bears a specific name, *inkioe;* and a regular habitation for the abdicating *ziogoon* is as established and essential a provision of the Yedo court, as a jointure-house for a queen dowager in this country. To this inferior abode the *ziogoon*, against whose opinion the arbitrators have decided, instantly retires, and his successor takes possession of the vacated palace.

Should the arbitrators pronounce the monarch to be in the right, the consequences are yet more serious, inasmuch as the minister who proposed and most strongly urged the obnoxious act, if not every member of the council, headed by the president — whose supreme authority should involve responsibility—is under the necessity of committing suicide, according to the Japanese mode, by ripping himself up. When to this always possible, if not often recurring, necessity, is added, that the whole council, collectively and individually, is surrounded by spies, known and unknown, employed by superiors, inferiors, rivals, and each other, it will be evident that these seemingly absolute ministers cannot venture upon the slightest infraction of any law, or upon any deed of violence, of rapacity, or of arbitrary tyranny, except with the sword of Damocles, it may be said, literally as well as metaphorically, hanging over their heads.

Turn we now to the vassal princes of the empire, whose power appears to be the chief object of apprehension to the *ziogoons* and their council.

There were originally sixty-eight principalities, hereditary, but subject to forfeiture in case of treason. Of this penalty advantage was taken by successive usurpers during the civil wars, to weaken apprehended rivals by the subdivision of their dominions. The consequence of these proceedings is, that there are now said to be six hundred and four distinct administrations, including great and small principalities, lordships, imperial provinces, and imperial towns.

The princes, called *kok-syoe*, or lords of the land, are divided into two grades, the *daimioe* (very much honoured), who hold their principalities directly of the *mikado*, and the *saimioe* (much honoured), who hold theirs of the *ziogoon*. Both *daimioe* and *saimioe* are nominally absolute in their respective states. They govern with all the forms and organization of actual sovereignty, and each, by means of his noble vassals, maintains his own army. But they are entangled in a net of suzerain policy, which disables even the mightiest from attempting aught against the *ziogoon* or his council; and so completely and annoyingly are they controlled, alike in their public duties and in their private enjoyments, that in no class of Japanese is the practise of *inkioe*, abdicating in favour of a son, so prevalent as amongst these grandees. A reigning prince of advanced age is rarely seen in Japan.

The actual administration of every principality is conducted, not by the prince himself or by ministers of his choice, but by two *gokaros*, or secretaries, appointed by the Yedo council, the one to reside in the principality, the other at Yedo, where the family of the absent secretary is detained in hostage for his fidelity. These double appointments extend to all high provincial posts, and it is only by the regular annual alternation of situation of the two colleagues that men holding such posts ever see their families. Nor are the secretaries, thus obtruded on their nominal master, allowed to act as their own or the prince's judgment may dictate. They are, in fact, the mere delegates of the council, whose orders are transmitted by the secretary at Yedo to the secretary at the capital of the principality.

Either every alternate year, or the half of every year, the princes are compelled to spend at Yedo, and that is the only time during which they can enjoy the society of their families, there kept as hostages. Nor are they indulged in any illicit alleviation of their frequent privation. During their residence in their own dominions, they are not only separated from those families, illegitimate as well as legitimate, but strictly prohibited from holding any species of intercourse, innocent or criminal, with the other sex. The ceremonious observances that fill their time, as the *ziogoon's*, are prescribed from Yedo. They may not appear without their palace-walls, except at stated times and according to stated forms; nay, the very hours of their down-lying and up-rising are imperatively pre-ordained by the council. That no infraction of these intolerable restrictions can escape the knowledge of the council through the instrumentality of the spies, every prince and his household are well aware; but it is said that into some of the principalities those spies penetrate at the hazard of their lives; from one, Satzuma,* hardly any are said ever to return, and the Yedo government, never acknowledging them as its servants, never inquires into or avenges their fate.

But all this does not afford sufficient security in the opinion of the government. Lest the princes should, even at the sacrifice of all that is dear to them, confederate against the *ziogoon*, neighbouring princes are not allowed to reside simultaneously in their respective dominions, unless, indeed, ill-will should be known to exist between them, in which case their mutual jealousies are sedulously fomented, by affording them occasions of collision. But the plan chiefly relied upon for insuring their subjection, is to keep them dependent by poverty; and to reduce them to the required state of indigence, many means are employed.

In the first place, nearly the whole military duty of the empire is thrown upon the princes; they are required to maintain troops rateably, according to the extent of their dominions, and to furnish even those required for the imperial provinces, the administration of which is avowedly in the hands of the Yedo council. Thus, at Nagasaki, which during the last two centuries has been the only seat of foreign commerce, the whole profit of which is devoured by the *ziogoon*, council, governors, and their understrappers, and which for that very purpose was dismembered from a principality, and converted into an imperial city, the duty of guarding the bay falls altogether upon the princes of Fizen and Tsikuzen, whose dominions the bay of Nagasaki divides. The two centuries of profound peace, which Japan has enjoyed since the adoption of the exclusive system, have naturally lessened the need of troops. The consequent diminution of expense is felt to be a great object; but neither the princes nor their subjects are the persons destined to profit by the saving thus effected. The number of troops to be maintained by each prince is, indeed, reduced in just proportion to that originally allotted them; but the sum which the troops so dispensed with would have cost them, they are required to pay into the Yedo treasury. They are however said still to maintain nearly 300,000 foot and 50,000 horse.*

---

* Doeff.

Other modes of impoverishment there are, to which, when necessary, recourse is had. One is, the obliging the princes to display extravagant pomp and magnificence during their residence at

---

* Edinburgh Gazetteer.

Yedo, involving them in every imaginable expense. Should these ways of draining his exchequer prove insufficient with some extraordinary opulent or prudent prince, two resources are kept in reserve, which have never yet failed. One of these is the *ziogoon's* inviting himself to dinner with his inconveniently wealthy vassal, at his Yedo palace; the other, the obtaining for him, from the *mikado*, some highly coveted post at the *dairi*. The expense of duly entertaining the *ziogoon*, or of receiving the investiture of an exalted *dairi* office, is such as no Japanese fortune has yet proved able to withstand.

Of the lordships, it may suffice to say, that they seem to be merely very inferior principalities, the government of which is managed and controlled in a manner perfectly analogous to that just described. Their troops are included in the numbers given above.

The provinces and towns retained as imperial domains, are administered by imperial governors, selected by the Yedo state council, and whose fidelity is similarly secured. To every government, two governors are appointed; one of whom resides at Yedo, the other at his post, his family remaining as hostages at court, and he himself being subjected to the same restrictions and annoyances as the princes in their principalities: the two governors annually relieve each other in their governments. Their authority in their governments is equal to that of the princes, or rather of the princes' secretaries in the principalities; except that a governor cannot inflict capital punishment until the sentence has been ratified at Yedo, whilst the princes may freely exercise this act of sovereignty. But neither prince nor governor likes to pronounce sentence of death, lest the perpetration of crimes requiring such punishment should be imputed to connivance, negligence, or general mal-administration on their part, and induce deposal or dismissal as the case may be.

The governor is assisted by an official establishment, appointed by the council of state, most of the members of which are subject to the same restrictions as himself; and their number would be incredible, were we not told that the principle of Japanese government is to employ the most persons possible of the higher and middle classes. The official establishment of the town of Nagasaki, the only one of which the Dutch writers have personal knowledge, may be worth giving as a sample.*

The governor has under him two secretaries, and a number of *gobanyosis*, or superior police-officers, to each of whom is allotted a department, for which he is responsible, and a number of *banyooses*, or under police-officers, to execute his orders. All these are subject to the governor's authority; but the following officers are wholly independent of him: the treasurer, a sort of district chancellor of the exchequer, who is second in rank to the governor, and has an accountant to assist him in his labours; and the military commandant of the town and district, the third in rank. Of all these official persons—the *banyooses,* who are of a very inferior degree, excepted—only the treasurer and the military commandant are permitted to have their families at Nagasaki. It is needless to repeat, that all these are surrounded by spies.

---

* Doeff and Meylan.

And here, having again occasion to mention the ever-recurring spies, it may be worth pausing, in order to say a word or two further upon this, apparently, mainspring of Japanese government. Their Japanese name of *metsuke,* is interpreted by Dr. von Siebold to mean "steady looker," or observer; by the Dutch writers, "lookers across." They are of every rank in life, from the lowest to the highest—beneath that of a prince—since even the proudest noblemen undertake the base office, either in obedience to commands which it were death — that is to say, imperative self-slaughter — to disobey, or impelled by the hope of succeeding to the lucrative post of him in whom they can detect guilt. Those spies at Nagasaki, who are subject to the governor, are entitled to demand an audience of him at any hour of the day or night; and woe betide him, should he, by postponing their admission, incur the risk of their reports being transmitted to Yedo otherwise than through himself. But there are other spies, not officially known, upon himself; and this, which, notwithstanding the constant mention of spies as official public characters, it is self-evident must be the case, is further proved by the following anecdote of the success of a high-born spy. The incident did not, indeed, fall under the personal observation of the Dutch factory, inasmuch as it occurred in another and remote government, Matsmai; but it is given upon good authority, and is general in its application.

"Complaints* of the governor of this province had reached the court, which took its own measures for ascertaining their truth. The agreeable tidings that the governor was displaced were speedily received; but it was not without astonishment that the capital, Matsmai, recognized in his successor a journeyman tobacco-cutter, who, some months before, had suddenly disappeared from his master's shop. The journeyman tobacco-cutter had been personated by a noble of the land, who had assumed that disguise in order to exercise the office of a spy, for which he had been sent to Matsmai by the court."

---

* Meylan.

To return to Nagasaki. The officers hitherto mentioned are all government officers; but the affairs of the town itself, its own police, &c., are managed, not by them, but by separate municipal authorities — to wit, a council of nine, something akin to a mayor and aldermen, but holding their offices hereditarily. The resolutions of this council must, however, be unanimous; if not, they are submitted to the governor. The municipal council employ, as their ministers and servants, a regiment of *ottonas* and *kasseros,* to whose superintendence the peace and good conduct of every street in the town is severally committed: a superintendence much facilitated by closing the gates of every street at a certain hour of the evening, after which no one can pass in or out, without an especial permission from his *kassero* or *ottona.*

But all this organization of watchfulness does not satisfy the care, despotic or paternal, of the government, for the safety of the people, or should we perhaps say, of the institutions. Every town and village in the realm is parcelled out into lots of five houses, the heads of which are made answerable for each other; each is bound to report to his *kassero* every and any misdemeanour, irregularity, or even unusual occurrence, in any of his four neighbours' houses, which from the *kassero* is transmitted through the *ottona* to the municipal council; so that it may be said, not that one half, but that each half, of the nation is made a spy upon the other half, or that the whole nation is a spy upon itself. The householders are further bound to exercise the same vigilance over the portion of the street lying in front of their houses; any disaster that may there happen, in a chance broil among strangers, being imputed to the negligence of the adjoining householders. Any neglect of interference or report is punished, according to the occasion, with fine, stripes, imprisonment, or arrest in the offender's own house; which last is a very different thing in Japan from what it is in other countries. In Japan, the whole family of the man sentenced to domiciliary arrest is cut off from all intercourse with the external world; the doors and windows of the house being boarded up, to insure the seclusion. The offender is suspended during the whole time, if in office, from his office and salary; if a tradesman or artisan, from exercising his trade; and, moreover, no man in the house may shave, a disgrace, as well as an inconvenience. How the subsistence of the family is provided for during this long period of inaction and non-intercourse, does not appear.

One consequence or necessary concomitant of this system of mutual espial is, that a man should have some power of chusing the neighbours whom he is to watch and be watched by. Accordingly, no one can change his residence without a certificate of good conduct from the inhabitants of the vicinage he wishes to leave, and permission to come amongst them from those of the street to which he would remove. The result of this minutely ramified and complete organization is said to be that, the whole empire affording no hiding-place for a criminal, there is no country where so few crimes against property are committed; and doors may be left unbarred, with little fear of robbery.

The population of Japan, which is variously estimated by different writers at from 15,000,000 to 40,000,000 and even 45,000,000 of souls, is divided, if not exactly into castes, yet into nearly hereditary classes. It is held to be the duty of every individual to remain through life in the class in which he was born, unless exalted by some very peculiar and extraordinary circumstance. To endeavour to rise above his station is somewhat discreditable; to sink below it, utterly so. These classes are eight.*

Class 1, is that of the *kok-syoe*, or princes, including both *daimioe* and *saimioe*, whose condition has been already sufficiently explained.

Class 2, is that of the *kie-nien*; literally, 'noblemen.' These noblemen, as before said, hold all their lands in fief, by military service, due to the several princes, or, in the imperial provinces, to the *ziogoon*. The number of warriors to be furnished by each nobleman is regulated by the size and value of his estate; and they provide for the performance of this duty by the under-granting, or subinfeudation of their lands. From this noble class are selected the ministers who are not princes, the great officers of state, governors, generals, &c. &c; and the universal passion for such offices serves, in great measure, to keep the nobility dependent upon the court, but not sufficiently so to satisfy the jealousy of government. Many of the precautions employed against the princes are likewise resorted to with respect to the nobles. They are not, indeed, deprived of their families, except when holding provincial office; but they are compelled to spend a considerable part of every year at Yedo, and are there required to display a magnificence, which, if not quite equal to that exacted from the princes, is so far beyond their means, that it doubly weakens them; first, by actually impoverishing, and secondly, by inducing them to lessen the number of their military vassals, in order to derive a larger income from their estates. In the profound peace Japan has for two centuries enjoyed, this is probably esteemed safe policy.

---

* Meylan.

Class 3, consists of the priesthood of Japan, Sintoo and Buddhist alike. Of these, it will be more convenient to speak in the chapter upon the religion of Japan.

Class 4, is that of the *samlai*, or military, and consists of the vassals of the nobility. The service by which they hold their lands is now, and has long been, if not altogether nominal, yet very easy, as they have only to furnish troops sufficient to give guards and splendour to the courts of the *mikado*, the *ziogoon*, and the princes, to preserve internal tranquillity, and to watch the coast. The numbers given before, are probably those that could be called forth, if required. In former times, prior to the closing of the empire against foreigners, and the confinement of every native within its limits, the Japanese soldiery are said to have been well known and highly valued throughout Asia, where, as soldiers of fortune, they served every potentate and state willing to engage them. That practice is now forbidden; and their military prowess must have died away, since it has had no field of action. But still, this class, useless as it may now appear, ranks in general esteem next to their feudal superiors. The *ziogoon* is said to maintain, besides the *samlai* of the imperial provinces, a body of armed men called the *dozin*, included in this class, but considered very inferior to the *samlai*, and bearing more affinity to the French *gens-d'armerie* than to regular troops.

It should be observed, whilst upon this subject, that Capt. Golownin, in his account of his captivity in Japan, says the imperial soldiers were so superior in rank and appearance to those of the princes, that he at first mistook the imperial privates for officers. No writer of the Dutch factory mentions any such difference; and, generally speaking, Golownin's situation—a prisoner in a remote province, conversing only through rude and ignorant Kurile interpreters, or by teaching his visitors Russian—rendered him so obnoxious to error, that when he differs from those who had better, though still very imperfect, means of information, his testimony can have little weight; but upon this subject, having been almost wholly guarded by military, it is at least possible that he should be better informed than upon most others, and that such a difference may exist. And as the ziogoon's troops, independent of the princes, have been estimated at 100,000 foot* and 20,000 horse, he may very likely have both *samlai* and *dozin*.

These four classes constitute the higher orders of Japanese, and enjoy the especial, the envied privilege of wearing two swords, and the *hakama*, or petticoat-trousers.

Class 5, comprehends the upper portion of the middle orders of society. It consists of inferior officials and professional—that is to say, medical—men; persons deemed respectable, or, to borrow an expressive French phrase, *comme il faut*, and permitted to wear one sword and the trousers.

---

* Edinburgh Gazetteer.

Class 6, comprises the lower, or trading portion of the middle orders; as merchants, and the more considerable shopkeepers. In this class, regarded with ineffable disdain, are found the only wealthy individuals in Japan. Far from being, like their superiors, forced into extravagant ostentation for the purpose of impoverishment, these persons are not allowed to imitate that ostentation. The degree of splendour that they may display is strictly limited, and they can spend their money only in those luxuries, comforts, and pleasures, which their superiors are obliged to forego, in order to support their station. The degrading step by which alone, if he aspire to ape his superiors, the richest merchant can, as a nominal menial, evade these sumptuary laws, has been already noticed; and even when thus indulged with one sword, never may he, under any circumstances, aspire to the trousers.

Class 7, is composed of petty shopkeepers, mechanics, and artisans of all descriptions—one trade, of which presently, excepted—and including, strange to say, artists. The general appreciation of this class it is not easy to fix, as every separate genus, and even species, appears to be differently valued, according to the different occupations and trades; as, for instance, we are told that goldsmiths and painters rank much above carpenters and blacksmiths; but whether any difference be made between artists and house-painters does not appear.

Class 8, consists of the peasantry, and day-labourers of all kinds. Of the former, the greater part appear to be, in fact, the villeins, or serfs of the landed proprietors; and even those who make some approach to the condition of an English farmer, or rather of a continental *metayer*—that being the Japanese mode of letting land—are said to be so heavily burthened with contributions, that indigence keeps them in a state of complete degradation.

To these recognized eight classes might be added a ninth, to locate the exception from the seventh above alluded to. This exception consists of the tanners, curriers, and all unhappy beings connected in any way with the leather trade. From some peculiar prejudice, originating probably in the Sintoo doctrine of defilement by contact with death, these dealers in hides or leather are the very *pariahs*, or outcasts of Japanese society. They are not permitted to dwell in towns or hamlets with other men, but inhabit villages exclusively their own, whence they are called into the towns only to discharge the functions of executioners and gaolers, in which, if they need assistance, the tea-house proprietors are bound to supply it. They are not allowed to pollute an inn or public house with their presence, but, if in want of refreshment on a journey, they are served on the outside with what they purchase, and the landlord would rather throw away than take back a vessel from which one of them had drunk. Finally, they are not numbered in a census of the population; and, what is yet more whimsical, their villages, when situated upon the high road, are not measured into the length of that road*—are subtracted from it, as nonenities—so that, in paying, by the distance between town and town, the relays of men and cattle stationed at the post-houses, the traveller is actually carried *gratis* through a village inhabited by makers of leather.

The Japanese laws are very sanguinary, recognizing but little distinction between different shades of guilt, and none that turn upon the magnitude of theft. They admit of no fines—except, perhaps, in some trifling† misdemeanour amenable to municipal jurisdiction,—because, in the opinion of the Japanese legislators, such pecuniary punishments would give an unfair advantage to rich over poor criminals. Imprisonment, banishment to some nearly uninhabited island, or death, are the usual penalties of crime, and are frequently extended to the whole family of the offender.

Due pains are likewise taken to make the laws known to all classes alike. In every town and village is a spot, enclosed by palisades, where, from a scaffold, every new law is proclaimed to the people; and where it is afterwards placarded, for the benefit of such as may have been absent from the proclamation. The code of police regulations is constantly placarded there.

---

* Siebold.

† Meylan.

In fact, the administration of justice is said to be extremely pure, making no distinction between high and low, rich and poor. If offences against the state are more certainly punished than those against individuals, it is only because the officers of government would risk their own lives by neglecting to prosecute a state criminal, whilst the prosecution of crimes of the second class rests with the individual injured, who may not think it worth his while, for the mere gratification of taking a fellow-creature's life, to add the expense and trouble of a law-suit to the evils he has already endured.

Minor complaints and offences are carried before the *ottonas*,* who act, in a manner secretly, as police magistrates, under the advice and control of the spies. The fairness of their adjudications is further insured by a right of appeal to the public tribunals. But to afford means of escaping such publicity is one main object of the authority intrusted to these municipal delegates, who redress grievances and punish small transgressions *nayboen*, thus sparing the character and feelings of many an offender.

---

* Fischer.

The public tribunals are very solemn, diligent, and astute in their proceedings, and seldom fail, we are assured, to elicit the truth. But to effect this, when evidence and other means are wanting, they have recourse to torture. From their verdict there is no appeal.

Capital punishment, and even sentence of death, necessarily involve confiscation of property, and disgrace to the family of the criminal. Hence, a man of the higher orders, publicly accused, and conscious of gilt, prevents his trial by at once ripping himself up. If the criminal be arrested too suddenly to allow of this step, and the family excite sufficient interest to induce the judicial and prison authorities to incur some little risk for their sake, recourse is had to one of two *nayboen* forms of death before sentence. When most kindness is felt, the prisoner is privately supplied with a weapon with which to rip himself up; but this is a rare indulgence, because attended with considerable risk to the friendly agent. The more ordinary course is, to order the prisoner to be tortured, for the purpose of extorting confession; at the same time, causing an intimation to be given to the executioner, that should the operation prove fatal, no questions will be asked. In either case the prisoner is reported to have died of disease; and, being presumed guiltless, because unconvicted, the body is delivered to the family for interment, and the concomitant evils of conviction are avoided.

The criminal who, not having thus eluded or forestalled his fate, is sentenced to death, is bound with cords, set upon a horse, and thus led to the place of execution—an open field without the town,—his crime being published both by word of mouth and by a flag. Upon his way thither, any person who pleases may give him refreshment —a permission seldom made use of. Upon reaching the appointed spot, the judges, with their assistants, take their places, surrounded by the *insignia* of their office, and by unsheathed weapons. The prisoner here receives from the executioner a cup of *sakee*, with some of its regular accompaniments, as dried or salted fish, roots, mushrooms or fruit, or pastry; and this he is allowed to share with his friends. He is then seated upon a straw mat, between too heaps of sand, and his head is struck off with a sword.

The severed head is set up upon a stake, to which is affixed a placard, announcing the crime that had incurred such a punishment. It is thus exposed for three days, after which the relations are allowed to bury as much of the corpse as the birds of prey have left.

This is the description given by the Dutch writers of an execution, and doubtless is what they have witnessed at Nagasaki. But a conjecture may be hazarded, that the forms are those practised only towards criminals of the lower orders, founded upon what was said in a former chapter of the mode of putting high-born offenders to death; and perhaps a second, not improbable conjecture might be added—to wit, that however precise the laws of Japan, much is left to the pleasure of the judge, in relation to the mode of inflicting the immutable doom. But whatever be thought of the ideas here thrown out, it is very clear that both of these are the merciful forms of execution, as we elsewhere learn that prisoners are frequently and publicly tortured to death, and that the excellence of an executioner is measured by the number of wounds—sixteen is said to be the maximum—that he can inflict without causing death.* Upon these occasions, it is reported that the young nobles habitually lend the executioner their swords, as a trial of the edge and temper of a new blade. It is further asserted, that they take great delight in witnessing executions, especially such as are enhanced by torture. One species of torture, in which a shirt of reeds, the criminal's only garment, is set on fire, is esteemed so superlatively entertaining from the sufferer's con-

---

* Titsingh.

P

changed for a straw band, the wearing of which is a disgrace. The filth of the dungeon is removed through a hole in the wall, and through that same hole the food of the prisoners is introduced. Their victuals are of the very worst description; and although the prisoners are allowed to purchase or to receive from their friends better provisions, no individual purchaser or receiver of supplies can derive any benefit from his acquisition, unless it be sufficient to satisfy the appetites of all his chamber or dungeon-fellows. Inasmuch as the inmates of this detestable abode, a detention in which might be deemed punishment adequate to most offences, being left wholly to their own government whilst confined there, have established the law of the strongest, and that in its worst form; a ruthless democratic tyranny, where the strongest means the majority.

CHAPTER IX.

ANECDOTES ILLUSTRATIVE OF THE CHARACTER AND MANNERS OF THE JAPANESE.

The *Phaeton*, Captain Pellew, enters Nagasaki Bay.—Transactions there.—Japanese governor's plans.—Neglect of duty discovered.—The *Phaeton's* departure.—Disastrous results.—Siebold's adventures.—Tchouya's conspiracy.—Arrests.—His wife's presence of mind.—He and his friends tortured.—Sibata Zabrobi's friendship.—Execution.—Yorinobon's escape by his secretary's suicide.—Gratitude of his posterity.—Ziogoon's purpose of illegal adoption.—Minister's fruitless remonstrances.—*Midia's* mode of prevention.—Japanese Lucretia.—Minister threatened.—His good humour.—Test of an accountant's qualifications.—Safe mode of nicknaming a monarch.—Ingenuity of a fisherman.—Its reward.—Artificial mermaid.—Curious mode of trial.

Of this kind of illustration, the recent Dutch writers afford very little, and that little is chiefly found in Doeff's recollections; but from Titsingh's unreadable annals a few anecdotes may be gathered, that strongly exemplify some national peculiarities both of mind and manners; for instance, the vindictive spirit and inflexible constancy of the Japanese, the slight account they make of human life (save as its loss would imply an act of injustice), their love of a jest, and their ideas of good breeding. Upon the established principle, that tragedy should precede farce, let us begin with an abdomen-ripping incident supplied by Doeff. He does not give it as an anecdote, but relates it as part of the history of his long presidentship. His story is too prolixly told to be given in his own words, to say nothing of his mis-statement or misapprehension of the object of the English officer.

In the year 1808, Capt. Pellew, of the *Phaeton*, while cruizing in the Indian seas, projected the capture of the annual Dutch vessels trading with Japan. His search for them proved unsuccessful, that being one of the years in which none were despatched, and he prosecuted it even into the Bay of Nagasaki. The consequences of this step, unintentionally and unconsciously on his part, were such as to excite, as we are assured, a fierce hatred of England in the minds of the Japanese.

Upon Capt. Pellew's making the coast, the report of a strange vessel in sight was brought to Nagasaki, and the usual deputation was sent forth; — the previous inquiries and taking of hostages, described by Siebold, have been ordered in consequence of this transaction. The boat bearing the members of the Dutch factory was in advance of that with the Japanese commissioners, and, as the ship displayed Dutch colours, advanced joyfully to meet her shallop, when, as soon as they were in reach of each other, the Dutch officials were grappled, dragged forcibly into the ship's boat, and carried on board. The Japanese police-officers and interpreter, in utter dismay at so unexpected, so incomprehensible a catastrophe, rowed back to relate the misadventure of their foreign colleagues. The Governor of Nagasaki, to whom the loss of two of the strangers in his charge was matter of life and death, ordered the *gobanyosis* to bring back the captured Dutchmen, or not to return alive; and then sent to ask Doeff what could be the meaning of the occurrence, and whether he saw any means of recovering his people. Doeff replied that he conceived the ship to be an English man-of-war, and that the Dutchmen, being civilians, might be recovered by negotiation. But even whilst these messages were passing the *Phaeton* made her way, unpiloted, into the harbour, and the Japanese, confounded at an exploit altogether unprecedented, raised a cry that she was bearing down upon Dezima.

The governor, who now feared to lose his whole factory, ordered all the Dutchmen, with their most valuable effects, to the government-house, there, at least, to be as safe as himself. They found him in a tremendous rage, and he greeted Doeff with the words: "Be you easy, *opperhoofd;* I will have your Dutchmen back for you." Soon afterwards came a note from one of the captives, stating that the ship was English, and that Capt. Pellew requested provisions and water.

With this demand the governor declared himself little disposed to comply; and he was busily engaged in making preparations for destroying the strange vessel, according to the general tenor of his instructions. His first measure was to summon the troops from the nearest post, one of the Prince of Fizen's, where a thousand men were bound to be constantly on duty; only sixty or seventy were found there, the commandant himself being amongst the missing. This neglect of orders by others nearly sealed the governor's own fate; but he did not intermit his efforts to regain the Dutchmen; and his scheme for succeeding by negotiation was truly Japanese. The chief secretary waited upon Doeff, informing him that he had received orders to fetch back the captives; and to the question, "How?" replied, "Even as the ship has seized the Dutchmen treacherously, so shall I go on board quite alone, and with the strongest professions of friendship. I am then to ask to speak to the captain, to request the restoration of the Dutchmen; and in case of a refusal, to stab him first, and then myself." Doeff's representations to both the secretary and the governor, that such an act must infallibly cause the death of the captives by the hands of the enraged crew, could with difficulty induce them to abandon this wildly-vindictive project.

One of the Dutch captives was now sent on shore, on parole, to fetch the provisions asked for. He reported that he and his comrade had been strictly interrogated as to the annual Dutch ships; and that the English captain threatened, should he detect any attempt at deception respecting them, to put both captives to death, and burn every vessel in the harbour, Japanese or Chinese. The governor was most unwilling to let his recovered Dutchman return to captivity, but was at length convinced of the necessity of suffering him to keep his word, for the sake of the other. He then gave him provisions and water to take on board, but in very small quantities, hoping thus to detain the ship until he should be ready for hostilities. Capt. Pellew had by this time satisfied himself that his intended prizes were not in Nagasaki Bay, and in consequence, upon receiving this scanty supply, he sent both Dutchmen on shore. Their release was to the two police-officers, who were still rowing despondently round the *Phaeton*, meditating upon the impossibility of executing their commission, a respite from certain death.

Meanwhile, the governor was collecting troops to attack the English frigate; but his operations proceeded slowly, and other subsidiary measures were suggested. The Prince of Omura, who came to Nagasaki with his troops before dawn, advised burning her, by means of fifty small boats filled with combustibles, the Dutch president preventing her escape by sinking vessels laden with stones in the difficult passage out of the harbour. But whilst all these plans were under consideration, whilst troops were assembling as fast as possible, and commissioners rowing from shore to gain time by proposals to negotiate respecting commerce, the Englishman, who had no further object in remaining, sailed out of the harbour as he had sailed in, unpiloted, leaving the Japanese even more confounded than before.

The Dutch now returned to Dezima, and as far as they were concerned, the whole affair was over. Not so with respect to the Japanese. The governor had, involuntarily indeed, disobeyed his orders, by suffering the escape of the intruder; and he felt that he had been negligent in not knowing the state of the coast-guard posts. To a Japanese, his proper course under such circumstances could not require deliberation. Nor did it. The catastrophe is thus told.

"He so well knew the fate awaiting him, that, within half an hour of our departure, he assembled his household, and in their presence, ripped himself up. The commanders of the deficient posts, officers not of the *ziogoon* but of the Prince of Fizen, followed his example; thus saving their kindred from inevitable dishonour.* That their neglect would indeed have been punished with the utmost severity, appears from the circumstance that the Prince of Fizen, although not then in his dominions, but compulsorily resident at Yedo, was punished with a hundred days of imprisonment, because his servants whom he had left behind him had not duly obeyed his orders. On the other hand, the young son of the Governor of Nagasaki, who was altogether blameless on the occasion, is at this hour in high favour at court, and has obtained an excellent post. When I visited the court of Yedo in 1810, I was told the following particulars respecting this youth. The Prince of Fizen, considering that the death of the Governor of Nagasaki, might in a great measure be imputed to him, inasmuch as the desertion of the guard-posts, though occurring without his fault, had mainly contributed to it, requested permission of the council of state to make a present of two thousand *kobans* (about 2,650*l.*) to the son of the unfortunate governor. Not only was this request granted, but the wholly unexpected and unsolicited favour was added, that, *to spare*

---

* See Note XIV.

him further applications, he might repeat the gift annually. This permission, *being equivalent to a command,* compelled the Prince of Fizen to pay an annuity to the governor's orphans."*

This story, falling within Heer Doeff's personal knowledge, admirably characterizes the spirit of the Japanese government, and the occasions rendering suicide imperative. It is melancholy to be obliged to add that, according to report, Dr. von Siebold has had the misfortune of causing a similar catastrophe, though upon a smaller scale. The details are not yet before the public, but we have, from different sources, obtained two different versions, and shall briefly state both.

According to the first, the high reputation of the doctor for science, and the favour of influential Japanese friends, obtained for him permission to remain at Yedo for the purpose of giving instruction to the learned members of the college, when Col. van Sturler returned to Dezima; and afterwards permission, more extraordinary still, to travel in the empire. He was, however, prohibited from taking plans or making maps, was detected in the transgression of this prohibition, and imprisoned. His escape was effected by the fidelity and attachment of his Japanese domestics; but the person or persons who were responsible for his safe custody had no recourse but the *hara-kiri*.

---

* Doeff.

According to the second, and assuredly the more probable, as the somewhat less painful story, Siebold obtained no extraordinary favour from the Yedo government, and returned with the mission to Dezima. But the Japanese astronomer Takahasi Lakusaimon had, in contravention of the law, allowed him to have a copy made of a recently completed map of Japan, and having subsequently given some offence to the draughtsman who had been charged with the illegal task of copying, his crime was denounced to the government. An investigation followed, Siebold's correspondence with Takahasi was demanded, and the geographical and topographical matters therein contained, combined with the original suspicion, conceived by the interpreters, of Siebold not being a Hollander, induced the belief that he was a Russian spy. The investigation was yet more vigorously prosecuted, and severe measures, *more Japonice*, were threatened. All Siebold's known friends and correspondents were thrown into dungeons, except one who was allowed or commanded to become, what we should term, king's evidence. This person's first measure was to break his oath in the cause of friendship, and give Siebold notice of what was contemplated against himself; in consequence of which warning, he was enabled to place his most valuable documents in security, and prepare copies for the use of the government commissioners, before his papers were seized, and he himself placed under arrest at Dezima. He was repeatedly examined by the governor of Nagasaki, but steadily refused to name any of his accomplices, and requested to be allowed to pass his life in a Japanese prison as a hostage, for the innocence of his friends, and for the consequences of his transgressions. The investigation lasted nearly a year, but ended more favourably than could have been expected. Many of the accused Japanese were released, and Siebold was simply banished from Japan: Takahasi and his accuser the draughtsman, however, thought suicide incumbent upon them, or at least advisable. In the spring of 1830, some months later, the remaining prisoners were, to the general surprise, not only set at liberty, but invested with official rank, and stationed along the eastern coast, to act as interpreters and inspectors, in case of any attempt to land by whalers, or other European or American navigators.

These are the stories circulated upon the continent. The correctness of either cannot be avouched, still less the accuracy of the details; but of the fact that the German doctor's scientific researches, like the escape of the British sailor, caused Japanese suicide, there seems to be, unhappily, no doubt.

But to leave the subject of this strangely named Happy Dispatch. The following fragment of history, from the annals of the *ziogoons* of the Gongen dynasty, is characteristic alike of the vindictive temper, resolution, high sense of honour, and ferocity in punishment of the Japanese, and also of their long-enduring hereditary gratitude.

During* the civil wars (for which the reader is referred to the chapter on Japanese history) between Gongen and his grand-daughter's husband, Hideyori, the Prince of Toza had been a faithful adherent of the latter; after whose final discomfiture, he fell into the conqueror's hands. He endured much cruel, much degrading treatment; and at last, his hands were ordered to be struck off, which in Japan, is the very extremity of dishonour. The prisoner upbraided the usurper, who thus appears to have been present throughout, with his perjury to Hideyori, and his barbarity to himself. The answer to his reproaches was, immediate decapitation.

The prince's son, Marabosi-Tchouya, instantly resolved to avenge his father's death; but being then a destitute and helpless child, only nine years old, he carefully concealed his purpose until he should find himself in a condition to effect it. This did not happen until the accession of Gongen's great grandson, Minamoto-no-yeye-Mitsou, in 1651, when he was appointed commander of the pikemen of Yori-nobou, the new *ziogoon's* uncle. Tchouya now deemed the moment of revenge arrived. He concerted his schemes with Ziositz, the son of an eminent dyer, but a man of such distinguished ability, that he had been tutor to Yori-nobou. This prince himself was suspected of being implicated in the conspiracy; if he was, the presence of mind and firmness of his confederates effectually screened him. Yet, when we are told that the drift of the plot was to exterminate the whole race of Gongen, and to divide the empire between Tchouya and Ziositz, this seems a design so unlikely for a prince of the proscribed family to participate in, that we must suppose the views of the conspirators to be misrepresented, or Yori-nobou to have been duped by his accomplices, as the close of the transaction renders it hardly possible to acquit him of all knowledge of the plot.

---

* Titsingh.

An act of indiscretion on the part of Tchouya, after so many years (nearly fifty) of prudence, betrayed the conspiracy, and orders were issued for his arrest, and that of Ziositz. It was deemed important to seize both, if possible, or at least Tchouya, who resided at Yedo, alive, in the hope of extorting further disclosures; to effect this, it was indispensable to surprise him, and measures were taken accordingly. An alarm of fire was raised at Tchouya's door, and when he ran out to ascertain the degree of danger threatening his house, he was suddenly surrounded and attacked. He defended himself stoutly, cutting down two of his assailants; but, in the end, was overpowered by numbers, and secured. His wife, meanwhile, had heard the sounds of conflict, and apprehending its cause, immediately caught up those of her husband's papers which would have revealed the names of his confederates (amongst whom were men of distinction and princes of the land), and burnt them. Her presence of mind remains even to this day a topic of admiration in Japan, where the highest panegyric for judgment and resolution that can be bestowed upon a woman, is to compare her to the wife of Tchouya. Such qualities, it may be conjectured, had procured her the honour, contrary to Japanese custom, of being her husband's confidant.

The plans of government being thus foiled, even in their apparent success, the next orders were to arrest all the known friends of Tchouya. Ziositz avoided capture by the usual form of suicide; but two of his friends, named Ikeyemon and Fatsiyemon, were seized and interrogated. They promptly acknowledged their participation in a conspiracy which they esteemed honourable, but refused to betray a confederate. The destruction of Tchouya's papers left no possible means of discovering the parties implicated, except the confession of one of the prisoners, and they were therefore subjected to tortures sickening to relate, but which must nevertheless be known, if we would justly appreciate either the firmness or the ferocity of the Japanese character.

Tchouya, Ikeyemon, and Fatsiyemon were, in the first instance, plastered all over with wet clay, then laid upon hot ashes, until the drying and contracting of the clay rent and burst the flesh into innumerable wounds. Not one of them even changed countenance, and Fatsiyemon, taunting his tormentors, like a Mohawk in the hands of hostile Cherokees, observed, "I have had a long journey, and this warming is good for my health; it will supple my joints, and render my limbs more active." The next form of torture tried was making an incision of about eight inches long in the back, into which melted copper was poured; and this copper, when it had cooled, was dug out again, tearing away the flesh that adhered to it. This likewise failed to conquer the fortitude of the victims: Fatsiyemon affected to consider it a new-fashioned application of the *moxa*, a Japanese mode of medical treatment by actual cautery; and Tchouya thus replied to the judge minister, who urged him to avoid further suffering by revealing his accomplices: "Scarcely had I completed my ninth year, when I resolved to avenge my father, and seize the throne. My courage thou canst no more shake than a wall of iron. I defy thine ingenuity! Invent new tortures; my fortitude is proof against them!"

The government now despaired of obtaining more victims than those they already held, and the day of execution was appointed. When it dawned, the death-doomed, amounting in number to thirty-four, were conducted in procession through the streets of the town, headed by Tchouya; his wife and mother, with Ikeyemon's wife, and four other women, closed the melancholy train—the females being, most likely, not sentenced as accomplices, but merely included in the condemnation of their husbands. It may here be remarked that, out of thirty-four prisoners, only three were tortured; probably because the ringleaders only were supposed to possess the knowledge desired; and Tchouya's wife, who was manifestly in the secret of the names so keenly and ferociously sought, could, as a woman, give no available evidence, even if confession were extorted from her. It would be gratifying to ascribe her exemption from such sufferings as those described, to tenderness for her sex, but as the legal incapacity is sufficient, it is to be feared that this was the real ground.

As the procession reached the place of execution, a man, bearing two gold-hilted swords, broke through the encircling crowd, approached the minister of justice whose duty it was to superintend the work of death, and thus accosted him; "I am Sibata-Zabrobi, the friend of Tchouya and of Ziositz. Living far remote, I have but lately heard of their discovered conspiracy, and immediately hastened to Yedo. Hitherto I have remained in concealment, hoping that the *ziogoon's* clemency would pardon Tchouya; but as he is now condemned to die, I am come to embrace him, and if need be, to suffer with him."—"You are a worthy man," replied the judicial officer, "and I would all the world were like you. I need not await the Governor of Yedo's permission to grant your wish; you are at liberty to join Tchouya."

The two friends conversed awhile undisturbed; then Sibata produced a jug of *sakee*, which he had brought, that they might drink it together, and as they did so, they bade each other a last farewell. Both wept. Tchouya earnestly thanked Sibata for coming to see him once more. Sibata said: "Our body in this world resembles the magnificent flower *asagawa*, that, blossoming at peep of dawn, fades and dies as soon as the sun has risen; or the ephemeral *kogero* (an insect). But after death. we shall be in a better world, where we may uninterruptedly enjoy each other's society." Having thus spoken, he rose, left Tchouya, and thanked the superintending officer for his indulgence.

All the prisoners were then fastened to separate crosses, and the executioners brandished their fatal pikes. Tchouya was first dispatched, by ripping him up with two cuts in the form of a cross. The others were then successively executed; Tchouya's wife dying with the constancy promised by her previous conduct.

It may here be observed, that the difference between this execution and all the descriptions given in the last chapter, tends to confirm the conjecture there hazarded, that the manner is not absolutely fixed, but depends much upon the judge. The different writers describe what they have seen, rather than what is prescribed, with the immutability of the law. This ripping up of Tchouya does not affect what was there said of the *hara-kiri*, the essence of which is, its being suicidal, or the proper act of the sufferer. Upon the present occasion it is merely a substitute for decapitation. But our story is not yet finished.

When this judicial massacre was over, Sibata presented his two valuable swords to the official superintendent, with these words: "To you I am indebted for my conversation with my lost friend; and I now request you to denounce me to the *ziogoon*, that I may suffer like Tchouya."—"The gods forbid that I should act thus!" rejoined the person addressed. "You deserve a better fate than to die like him; you, who whilst all his other friends were consulting their own safety by lurking in concealment, came boldly forward to embrace him."

As the name of Sibata-Zabrobi does not again occur in the Annals, it may be hoped that this stout-hearted and faithful friend was suffered to return safely to his distant home. But the fate of another of the suspected conspirators is still to be told, and the manner of his escape exemplifies one of the lofty characteristics of the nation—their self-immolating fidelity.

The burning of Tchouya's papers had destroyed all proof, if any had existed, of Yori-nobou's complicity; but circumstances were strong against him. His palace was searched, but nothing found that could decidedly inculpate him; and now his secretary, Karmofeyemon, came forward with a declaration, that he, and only he, in the prince's establishment, had been cognizant of the conspiracy, confirming his assertion by ripping himself up. The fruit of this self-immolation was, that Yori-nobou, although still suspected, remained unmolested at Yedo; and that a suspected prince did so remain, may show how modified and bound by law is, and even then was, Japanese despotism.

Some generations afterwards, Yosimoum, a descendant of Yori-nobou's, became *ziogoon*, and evinced the gratitude of the family for the preservation of their ancestor, by raising the posterity of Karmofeyemon to some of the highest honours of the state, and rendering them hereditary in his race.

The next anecdote, taken from the same source, will show both that the women share in this lofty contempt for life, whether their own or another's, when they conceive duty, or the public interest, to require the sacrifice; and that, if a *ziogoon* possesses despotic power, there is little disposition to let him exercise it arbitrarily.

Early in the eighteenth century, the *Ziogoon* Tsouna-yosi, a profligate prince, who by his vices had destroyed his constitution, accidentally lost his only son, and the dignity of *ziogoon* having never been inherited by a daughter, resolved to adopt an heir. This is a constant practice in Japan with the childless, whether sovereign or subject; but the established rule is, to select for adoption the son of a brother, or other near relation; in direct contravention of which, Tsouna-yosi, disregarding the claims of his nephew, fixed his choice upon an alien to his blood, the son of a mere favourite of inferior birth.

The prime minister, Ino-Kamon-no-Kami, remonstrated, alleging that a step so unprecedented would exasperate not only the princes of the blood, but all the other princes of the empire. His representations proved unavailing against the favourite's influence; whereupon he sought the Empress, or *Midia*. To her the minister revealed his master's illegal and dangerous design; explained the probability, if not certainty, that a general insurrection would be its immediate consequence; and declared that, unless she could avert it, the adoption and its fearful results were inevitable. The *Midia*—a daughter of the reigning *Mikado*, and high-minded, as became her birth and station—meditated profoundly for some minutes; then raising her head, she bade the alarmed minister be of good cheer, for she had devised means of prevention. But what these means might be, she positively refused to tell him.

Upon the day preceding that appointed for the adoption, the daughter of the "Son of Heaven," who had long been wholly neglected by her libertine husband, invited him to take *sakee* with her; and upon his assenting, prepared a sumptuous entertainment. Whilst he was drinking, she retired for a moment to her private apartment, wrote and despatched a note of instructions to Ino-Kamon, and then, placing in her girdle the ornamented dagger worn by women of exalted rank, she returned to the banqueting-room. Shortly afterwards, she announced her wish for a private conversation with the *Ziogoon*, and dismissed her attendants.

The Japanese annalist relates, that when they were alone, the princess earnestly implored her consort to grant the request she was about to prefer to him. He refused to pledge his word until he should know what she desired; and she then said: "I am assured that you purpose adopting the son of Dewano-Kami as your heir. Such a step, my most dear and honoured lord, must grievously offend all those princes whose claims would thus be superseded; it would unavoidably provoke a general insurrection, and occasion the destruction of the empire. My prayer therefore is, that you will renounce so ruinous a design."

The *Ziogoon* was incensed at such feminine interference with his projects, and indignantly replied: "How darest thou, a mere woman, speak upon state affairs? The empire is mine, to rule at my pleasure. I need not female counsel, and never will I see or speak to thee more!" With these words he arose, and was leaving the apartment in a rage.

The *Midia* followed, and detaining him by his sleeve, persisted with humble urgency: "Yet bethink you, my sovereign lord. Reflect, I implore you, that should you execute this baneful resolution, the morrow's sun may see all Japan in rebellion."

The *Ziogoon* was inflexibly obstinate; her expostulations, gentle and submissive as they were, serving only to exasperate his resentment. The Heaven-descended lady, finding argument and solicitation fruitless, and hopeless of otherwise averting the impending disaster, suddenly plunged her dagger into his breast, and, withdrawing it, repeated the blow. Her aim was true; the monarch fell, and his consort, dropping on her knees by his side, implored his pardon for having, in an emergency so critical, employed the only possible means left of securing the throne to the Gongen dynasty. She concluded with an assurance that she dreamed not of surviving him. The moment the *Ziogoon* Tsouna-yosi had breathed his last, she stabbed herself with the same dagger, and sank lifeless upon his corpse. Her ladies, hearing the noise of her fall, ran in, and found both weltering in their blood.

At this moment appeared Ino-Kamon, who, startled by the purport of the empress's billet, had flown to the palace. He was instantly admitted to the chamber of death, and stood confounded at the fearful spectacle it presented. After a while, recovering himself, he exclaimed, "Lo! a woman has saved the empire! But for her bold deed, Japan would to-morrow have been convulsed, perhaps destroyed!"

The self-slain princess had not, it seems, thought it sufficient thus effectually to prevent the *ziogoon* from executing his illegal design: she had further given Ino-Kamon, in her note, precise instructions as to the course he was to pursue. By obeying them, the minister secured the accession of the lawful heir, and alleviated the disappointment of the youth whom Tsouna-yosi had intended to adopt, by obtaining a principality for him from Yeye-nobou, the monarch he had been intended to supplant. Ino-Kamon's own services were recompensed by the new and grateful *ziogoon*, who rendered the office of governor of the empire hereditary in his family; and this *midia* is said to divide the admiration of Japan with the wife of Tchouya.

One other anecdote, supplied by Ogilby, may further illustrate the high spirit of Japanese women, and the confidence which their husbands may well feel in their virtue. In the year 1646 a nobleman of Firato, named Jacatai, was under the necessity of leaving home soon after his marriage, and repairing to Miyako upon business. His newly wedded was left behind at Saccai; and a nobleman whose addresses she had rejected in favour of Jacatai, taking advantage of his successful rival's absence, came with a troop of servants whose numbers rendered resistance impossible, and by downright violence compelled the lady to submit to his wishes. She instantly determined to have ample revenge for this outrage; but that it might be the more complete, resolved to defer it until her husband's return; for which purpose she induced the offender by holding out distant hopes of pardon, and of her possible future compliance with his criminal suit, to remain at Saccai.

When Jacatai announced the day of his return, she made a splendid entertainment to welcome him, to which she invited all their own relations and friends, and likewise the guilty lover and his friends. The banquet was spread upon the house-top; and there, in the midst of the festivity, this Japanese Lucretia suddenly arose, stated that there was then in Saccai, a woman who had, by overpowering force, suffered the last outrage, and asked what punishment that woman deserved? The whole company, with one voice, declared that the man who had by violence perpetrated the outrage deserved death, not the unfortunate woman who had unwillingly suffered it. The lady then said, "I am the woman, and there sits the man who has forcibly dishonoured me. I pray you take my life, that the shame of having suffered such an infamous wrong may not stain other and happier women, that one degraded as I am may not be found amongst living men!"

All present protested against the idea of punishing her for another's crime, against her being degraded by aught in which her will had not concur-red; and her husband especially assured her that he esteemed her innocent, and would never love her the less for what she could not prevent. But her high sense of honour was not to be thus satisfied. She exclaimed, "Will no one punish my dishonour? Then must I do it myself, and only pray and enjoin you to avenge me!" and with these words she flung herself head foremost from the house-top, and broke her neck.

Swords were drawn to obey her last injunction, by avenging her. But some of her friends were paralyzed by her act; and the lover, surrounded by his own, effected his escape from the roof of the house, getting down stairs, and into the street. It was not, however, to avoid her vengeance; for he instantly performed the *hara-kiri* upon the dying victim of his unbridled passions, and was found by his pursuers dead with her whom he had irreparably wronged, but desired not to survive.

We may now turn to anecdotes less painful, illustrative of lighter parts of the Japanese character. The following will prove that, if an implacably vindictive spirit, over which time can exert no softening influence, be part of that character, at least it is not excited by petty provocations, and will likewise afford a specimen of the good humour and love of drollery that mingle rather oddly with the national ferocity and passion for ceremony.

About the middle of the last century,* Fota-sagami-no-Kami, a man of high reputation for learning and talent, was advanced to an eminent place in the council of state by the young *ziogoon*, Yee-sige, upon his accession. In the business of administration, Fota-sagami fulfilled all the expectations to which his reputed ability had given birth; but he provoked great, if partial, animosity, by the inexorable severity with which he treated the officers of the old *ziogoon*, who had abdicated, depriving them of the rewards their former master had bestowed upon them for their services.

The despoiled men, having vainly petitioned for redress, meditated revenge, but determined first to make an effort for the recovery of their lost wealth by intimidation. In pursuance of this scheme, a pumpkin, carved into the form of a human head, appeared one morning over the state councillor's door, with the following inscription attached to it: "This is the head of Fota-sagami-no-Kami, cut off and set up here in recompense of his cruelty."

Fota-sagami's servants were enraged at the insult offered to their master, but yet more terrified at the idea of the fury they anticipated it would awaken in him, and which they feared might in some measure fall upon themselves, as though their negligence had given the opportunity for so daring an insult. Pale and trembling they presented themselves before him, and reported the ominous apparition of the pumpkin-head, with its inscription. The effect was far different from what they had expected. Fota-sagami's fancy was so tickled by hearing, whilst full of life and health, that his head was announced to be actually cut off and set up over his own door, that he laughed heartily at the joke; and as such, upon joining his colleagues in the council chamber, related his vicarious decapitation in the person of a pumpkin. There, likewise, the jest excited bursts of laughter, amidst which, however, unbounded admiration was expressed of Fota-sagami-no-Kami's fortitude. Whether the jesters were permitted again to enjoy the rewards assigned them by the *ex-ziogoon* or *koebo*, does not appear.

---

* Titsingh.

Another incident of the same reign, at a later date, exhibits a Japanese view of good breeding, and mode of testing talent and character.* Oka-yetchezen-no-Kami. one of the governors of Yedo, was directed to seek out able men for the service of the *ziogoon*, and amongst others, a skilful accountant. A person named Noda-bounso was recommended to him as an admirable arithmetician, and in every respect well fitted for office. Oka-yetchezen sent for Noda-bounso, and when the master of the science of numbers presented himself, gravely asked him for the quotient of 100, divided by 2. The candidate for place as gravely took out his tablets, deliberately and regularly worked the sum, and then answered, 50. "I now see that you are a man of discretion as well as an arithmetician," said the Governor of Yedo, "and in every way fitted for the post you seek. Had you answered me off-hand, I should have conceived a bad opinion of your breeding. Such men as you it is that the *Ziogoon* wants, and the place is yours."

---

* Titsingh.

Yee-sige did, indeed, want men of discretion about him, to supply his own deficiency, for he had by this time so completely destroyed his intellectual faculties by excesses of various kinds, as to reduce himself to idiotcy. To have plainly stated the fact, however, or to have applied to the monarch the appellation belonging to his mental disease, would have been treason. The wit of his subjects devised means of guiltlessly intimating his condition, by giving him the name of an herb that is said to cause temporary insanity, and Yee-sige was surnamed *Ampontan*.

An instance of the quick talent and ingenuity evinced by the least educated portion of the community, akin to this sort of wit, occurs in the history of the transactions at Dezima during the many years of Heer Doeff's presidentship; but, upon the occasion in question, these qualities were directed towards a more useful purpose than nicknaming a sovereign. An American vessel, hired by the Dutch at Batavia to carry on their permitted trade with Japan, whilst the English cruizers rendered the service too hazardous for their own ships, or for any but neutrals, a sshe set sail in the night, laden with her return cargo of copper and camphor, struck upon a rock, filled, and sank. The crew got on shore in boats, and the problem that engrossed the attention alike of the American captain, the Dutch factory, and the constituted authorities at Nagasaki, was how to raise the vessel.

"The first idea* was, to employ Japanese divers, to fetch up the copper; but the influx of water had melted the camphor, and the suffocating effluvia thus disengaged cost two of these divers their lives. The attempt to lighten her was necessarily abandoned, and every effort to raise, without unloading her, had proved equally vain, when a simple fisherman, named Kiyemon, of the principality of Fizen, promised to effect it, provided his mere expenses were defrayed; if he failed, he asked nothing. People laughed at the man, who now, perhaps, for the first time in his life, even saw an European ship; but he was not to be diverted from his purpose. He fastened on to either side of the vessel under water fifteen or seventeen boats, such as those by which our ships are towed in, and connected them all with each other by props and stays. Then, when a spring-tide favoured him, he came himself in a Japanese coasting-vessel, which he similarly attached to the stern of the sunken ship, and at the moment the tide was at the highest, set every sail of every boat. Up rose the heavy-laden, deep-sunken merchantman, disengaged herself from the rock, and was towed by the active fisherman to the level strand, where she could be conveniently discharged and repaired. Kiyemon not only had his expenses bonified to him, but the prince of Fizen gave him permission to wear two swords, and to bear as his arms a Dutch hat and two Dutch tobacco-pipes!"

---

* Doeff.

Without making any remark upon either the extraordinary coat-of-arms assigned to the fisherman, or the yet more extraordinary want of liberality evinced in the payment, or rather the apparent non-payment, of his successful exertions — for no hint is given that either the American captain or the Dutch president made him any pecuniary recompense — it may be observed, that the permission to wear two swords is a satisfactory proof that the line of demarcation between the different classes of society is not absolutely impassable.

Another Japanese fisherman seems to have displayed ingenuity equal perhaps to Kiyemon's, though in a less honourable and useful form, for the mere purpose of making money by his countrymen's passion for everything odd and strange.* He contrived to unite the upper half of a monkey to the lower half of a fish, so neatly, as to defy ordinary inspection. He then gave out that he had caught the creature alive in his net, but that it had died shortly after being taken out of the water; and he derived considerable pecuniary profit from his cunning in more ways than one. The exhibition of the sea-monster to Japanese curiosity paid well; but yet more productive was the assertion that the half human fish, having spoken during the few minutes it existed out of its native element, had predicted a certain number of years of wonderful fertility, and a fatal epidemic, the only remedy for which would be, possession of the marine prophet's likeness. The sale of these pictured mermaids was immense. Either this composite animal, or another, the offspring of the success of the first, was sold to the Dutch factory, and transmitted to Batavia, where it fell into the hands of a speculating American, who brought it to Europe, and here, in the years 1822-3, exhibited his purchase, as a real mermaid, at every capital, to the admiration of the ignorant, the perplexity of the learned, and the filling of his own purse.

---

* Fischer.

Ere closing this chapter, let us for a moment recur to the Japanese Annals for a gratifying proof of the care with which justice is administered by the delegated representatives of the council of state; although even that care, it must be allowed, smacks somewhat of despotic power in the whole manner of the transaction. The mode of trial alone would render the story worthy of attention, especially considering the asserted success of the Japanese tribunals in eliciting the truth. The incident occurred at Ohosaka.

An usurer,* named Tomoya-Kiougero, lost a sum of money, amounting to 500 *kobans* (upwards of 650*l.*). As no stranger had been seen about his premises, suspicion fell upon his servants, and after considerable investigation, finally settled upon one of the number called Tchoudyets. No proof was found, and the man, in spite of cross-questioning, menaces, and cajolery, positively denied the crime imputed to him. Tomoya now repaired to the Governor of Ohosaka, preferred his complaint, and demanded that Tchoudyets should be tried and punished. The governor, Matsoura Kavatche-no-Kami, who had been promoted to his post in consequence of his reputation for ability, wisdom, and virtue, sent for

---

* Titsingh.

Tchoudyets, and examined him. The accused protested his innocence, and declared that torture itself should never compel him to confess a crime of which he was innocent. Matsoura-Kavatche now committed Tchoudyets to prison, sent for Tomoya and his other servants, told them the result of his inquiries, and asked what proof they had of the prisoner's guilt. They had none, but persisted nevertheless in their firm conviction that Tchoudyets was the thief, and Tomoya insisted upon his immediate execution. The governor asked if they would set their hands to this conviction of guilt and demand of execution. They assented, and master and men, together with the master's relations, signed a paper to the following effect :—"Tchoudyets, servant to Tomoya-Kiougero, has robbed his master of 500 *kobans*. This we attest by these presents, and demand that he be punished with death, as a warning to others. We, the kinsmen and servants of Tomoya-Kiougero, in confirmation of this, affix to it our signatures and seals. The second month of the first year Genboun (1736)." The governor, taking the paper, said to the complainant, "Now that I am relieved from all responsibility, I will order the head of Tchoudyets to be taken off. Are you so satisfied?" Tomoya replied that he was, returned his thanks, and withdrew with his party.

Soon afterwards a robber, who was taken up for a different offence, and put to the torture, confessed amongst other crimes, the theft of Tomoya's money. This discovery was communicated to Matsoura-Kavatche, who immediately sent for Tomoya, his relations and servants, laid before them the true thief's confession, and thus addressed them:—"Behold! you accused Tchoudyets without proof, attesting your accusation under your hands and seals. I, upon the strength of your assertion, have commanded the death of an innocent man. In expiation of this crime, you, your wife, kindred, and servants, must all lose your heads; and I, for not having investigated the business with sufficient care, shall rip myself up." At these dreadful words, Tomoya and his friends were overwhelmed with despair. They wept, bemoaned their sad fate, and implored mercy, whilst the magistrates and officers present united in praying for some mitigation of so terrible a sentence. But the governor remained sternly inflexible.

When this scene of agony had lasted a considerable time, Matsoura-Kavatche suffered his features to relax into a milder expression, and said, "Be comforted; Tchoudyets lives. His answers convinced me of his innocence, and I have kept him concealed in the hope that the truth would come to light." He then ordered

Tchoudyets to be introduced, and proceeded thus: — "Tomoya, your false accusation has caused this innocent man to suffer imprisonment, and nearly cost him his life. As this irremediable misfortune has been happily averted, your lives shall be spared; but as some compensation for what he has undergone, you shall give him 500 *kobans*, and treat him henceforth as a faithful servant. Let the pangs you have this day experienced be graven on all your minds, as a warning how you again bring forward accusations upon insufficient grounds."

This decision of Matsoura-Kavatche's gave universal satisfaction, and, in testimony of the *ziogoon's* approbation, he was soon afterwards promoted to the more important and lucrative government of Nagasaki.

CHAPTER X.

ATTEMPTS OF FOREIGNERS TO OPEN RELATI
WITH JAPAN.

Hospitality towards foreign ships in the 18th century.—
attempts.—Captain Stewart's disasters and schem
—Shipwrecked Japanese sent from Macao.—Not
land.—Russian attempts.—Count Resanoff's am
ficulties about forms.—About landing and resid
dience.—Overtures rejected.—Difficulties about
Resanoff's resentment.—Hostile invasion.—
gradation of the Prince of Matsmai.—Golownin'
—His capture.—Odd treatment.—Kindness of
his evasion.—Release.—English attempts.—
Raffles' Pacific Mission.—Foiled by Dutch
sent precautions.

WHEN Christianity was finally exti
out Japan, and the remnant of
rope committed to the Dutch fa
the resolute seclusion of the in
long respected and left undi
nations. The slight attempt m
under Charles II., which th

proclaiming the English queen to be a Portuguese princess, can hardly be called an exception.

This abstinence from any endeavours to transgress the prohibitory laws of Japan, allowed the strong feelings in which they originated to die away; and towards the close of the last century, the continuance of the system appears to have proceeded rather from indifference to foreign trade and respect for existing customs, than from hatred or fear. Whilst the public mind of Japan remained in this easy state, although no trade, no unnecessary intercourse with foreigners, was permitted, foreign ships, in distress for provisions or other necessaries, were freely suffered to approach the coast, and their wants were cheerfully relieved. Captain Broughton, when exploring the Japanese seas in the years 1795-6-7, was, perhaps, the last English sailor who thus benefited by unsuspecting Japanese hospitality. Since that period, attempts have been made and accidents have happened, the effects of which are represented by the Dutch to have been the revival of their alienation from foreigners in all its original inveteracy. Siebold, however, rather questions this resuscitation; and thinks that, if it did take place, the feeling has again died away.

The first aggression upon the Japanese prohibitory code was made by the Americans, and originated in the war between England and Holland, during the subjection of the latter to France. It has already been intimated,* that the Dutch authorities at Batavia, when they durst not expose their own merchantmen to capture by British cruizers in the Indian seas, engaged neutrals to carry on their trade with Japan. The first North-American ship thus hired, was the *Eliza* of New York, Capt. Stewart, in 1797; and her appearance at once aroused Japanese suspicion.†

A vessel, bearing the Dutch flag, but of which the crew spoke English, not Dutch, was an anomaly that struck the Nagasaki authorities with consternation. It cost the president of the factory some trouble to convince the Governor of Nagasaki, that these English were not the real English, but "English of the second chop," as the Americans are, it seems, designated in China; living in a distant country, and governed by a different king. All this, however, even when believed, was of no avail; the main point was, to prove that the Americans had nothing to do with the trade, being only employed by the Dutch as carriers, on account of the war. The governor was at length satisfied that the American was no interloper, the employment of neutrals being, under existing circumstances, unavoidable; and he consented to consider the *Eliza* as a Dutch ship.

---

* See Chapter IX.

† Doeff.

Upon his second voyage, the following year, Capt. Stewart met with the accident mentioned in the last chapter; and it seems not unlikely that his increased intercourse with the Japanese, during first the attempt to raise his ship, and then her repairs, gave birth to his project of establishing a connexion with them, independent of his employers, the Dutch. His scheme and his measures do not, however, very distinctly appear in Doeff's narrative, either because the Dutch factory president is perplexed by his eagerness to identify them with English encroachment, or because the successful foiling of Capt. Stewart's hopes prevented the clear development of his intended proceedings.

When repaired and reloaded, the *Eliza* sailed, but was dismasted in a storm, and returned again to refit. All this occasioned such delay, that the American substitute for the Dutchman of 1799, had not only arrived, but had nearly completed her loading for Batavia, when Capt. Stewart was at length ready to prosecute the voyage that should have been completed in the preceding year, 1798. For this consort he obstinately refused to wait, and sailed early in November 1799. The following year, Capt. Stewart again made his appearance, but in a different vessel, and under a different character. He had still not reached Batavia; and he told a piteous tale of shipwreck, of the loss of his own all, as well as of his whole Dutch cargo, ending with his having been kindly enabled by a friend at Manilla to buy and freight the brig, in which he was now come for the purpose of discharging, by the sale of her cargo, his own sole property, his debt to the Dutch factory, incurred on account of the *Eliza's* repairs.

But in the interval, an able and energetic president had succeeded to a very inefficient one. Heer Wardenaar saw, in this visit of the American, an insidious attempt to gain a commercial footing, for himself individually, if not for his country, at Nagasaki; and his suspicions of the veracity of Capt. Stewart's story were further excited and strengthened by the recognition in this Manilla brig of some articles that had belonged to the Eliza, from the wreck of which it was averred that nothing whatever had been saved. He took his measures accordingly. He caused Capt. Stewart's cargo to be sold in the usual manner, and his debts to be paid from the proceeds; but he procured no return cargo for the brig, and sent the captain in the Dutch ships of that year to Batavia, to be there tried for the loss of the *Eliza's* cargo.

Pending the investigation of his conduct at Batavia, Capt. Stewart made his escape from the Dutch settlement, and for a year or two was not heard of. But in 1803 he again appeared in

Nagasaki Bay, this time more openly declaring his purpose. He now presented himself under the American flag, brought a cargo, avowedly American property, from Bengal and Canton, and solicited permission to trade, as also to supply himself with fresh water and with oil. The first request was positively refused, the second granted; and when his wants were gratuitously supplied, he was compelled to depart. Capt. Stewart now gave up his interloping scheme as hopeless; he returned no more, and the only American ship subsequently mentioned is one in 1807, which, professedly in distress between Canton and the western coast of America, prayed for wood and water, with which, at Doeff's solicitation, she was supplied, and, as Capt. Stewart had been, gratuitously. Whether she was really in distress, or was thus prevented from endeavouring to trade, the factory did not ascertain.

One very recent attempt of a mixed commercial and missionary character has, however, been made by American merchants from Macao. A vessel, with a missionary at once clerical and medical, and that able oriental linguist, the Rev. Charles Gutzlaff, sailed from Macao in July 1837, professedly to carry home some shipwrecked Japanese sailors. She steered for the Bay of Yedo, where not even the barks of Japanese dependencies are admitted, and after a short intercourse with native boats, which the missionaries thought promising, the ship was fired upon. She made her escape to sea, and next anchored in the Bay of Kago-sima, in the principality of Satzuma, where she experienced a precisely similar repulse. And now, indignant at what the reverend physician, Dr. Parker, in his Narrative, calls the treachery of the Japanese, the missionary adventurers determined to return to Macao, without visiting the only port —to wit, Nagasaki—where they had a chance of being permitted even to land their Japanese *protegés*. Whether this blunder or omission were the consequence of ignorance, or of their ascribing to Dutch intrigue the uniform repulse of all their predecessors, does not appear. The shipwrecked Japanese accompanied them back to Macao.

The next foreign attempts to be noticed were made by the Russians; and it almost looks as if they had once had a chance of success. But if it were so, opportunity was not seized by the forelock, and fled never to return.

During the reign of Catherine II., a Japanese vessel was wrecked on the coast of Siberia, and the empress ordered such of the crew as had been saved to be conveyed home. A Russian ship accordingly landed the rescued Japanese at Matsmai in 1792, and the captain, Adam Laxmann, made overtures respecting trade. He was formally thanked for bringing home the shipwrecked sailors, and permitted to repair to Nagasaki, there to negotiate with the proper authorities upon his commercial propositions. He was further informed that at Nagasaki alone could foreigners be admitted, and if the Russians ever again landed elsewhere, even to bring home shipwrecked Japanese, they would be made prisoners.

Capt. Laxmann did not go to Nagasaki, and the attention of the empress being probably withdrawn from so small a matter as trade with Japan by the engrossing character of European politics at that moment, the opening was neglected. It must be stated, however, that Dr. von Siebold doubts there having been any real opening. He ascribes the implied possibility of the Russian overtures for trade being entertained at Nagasaki, to the consciousness of the Prince of Matsmai, or rather of his secretary, that the town was in no condition to sustain a conflict with a man-of-war, and his consequent anxiety to get amicably rid of the Russian visitor.

In 1804, exertions were made to repair this omission. A Russian man-of-war appeared in Nagasaki Bay, conveying Count Resanoff, appointed ambassador from the czar to the *ziogoon*, and empowered to negotiate a treaty of friendship and commerce between Russia and Japan. The Count brought with him official Dutch recommendations to the president of the factory, who had previously received advices upon the subject of the embassy, and recommendations from Batavia. These Heer Doeff had communicated to the governor, so that the constituted authorities of Nagasaki were not altogether unprepared for the ambassador's arrival.

It was on the 7th of October* that the Russian vessel was reported to be off the mouth of the bay. The usual commission was sent out to visit her and receive her arms in deposit; and upon this occasion, in compliment to the ambassador, the president was requested to accompany the deputation in person. Even at this first meeting, the dissensions between the Russian and Japanese dignitaries began. The commissioners, regarding themselves as the representatives of the *ziogoon*, required, as usual, that the marks of respect due to his person should be paid to themselves; whilst the ambassador deemed it inconsistent with either his individual or his official rank to humble himself before the deputies of a provincial governor.† The next dispute related to the arms, which Resanoff positively refused to surrender; this quarrel turning, like the former, upon the point of honour, not of safety, as he readily suffered the ammunition to be landed and held by the Japanese.

---

* Doeff.

† See Note XVI.

President Doeff avers, that it was solely owing to his good offices and personal influence with the governor that the ship, thus imperfectly disarmed, was permitted to enter the harbour and take up a secure anchorage, there to await the answer from Yedo, not as to the future opening of negotiations, but as to the present ceremonial. This single evening the Dutchmen were indulged in spending cheerfully in European society. But the next day a suspicion seems to have arisen of possible confederacy between the two sets of foreigners, however manifestly opposed their interests, and, notwithstanding the early notice which the Dutch had given of the projected intrusion, they were never again allowed to exchange a word; but contrived to correspond in French, through the medium of the interpreters, always ready apparently to favour the violation of their rigid code: the way, indeed in which excessive rigidity is in most cases usefully though illegally compensated.

The jealousy of combination between the Dutch and Russians went so far, that the annual ship, this year really Dutch, and then in course of loading, was removed from her wonted berth to a distant station, and when she set sail, the captain and crew were forbidden to answer the kindly greetings and farewell of the Russians. The Dutch captain durst only wave his hat in reply;

and this want of politeness seems to have given great offence to the courteous Moscovites, who imputed it to mercantile ill-will.

Meanwhile, the Russian ambassador earnestly solicited permission to land, and Capt. Krusenstern, the commander of the ship, as earnestly desired leave to repair his vessel. These requests, being contrary to law, required a reference to Yedo. But Nagasaki now witnessed an unprecedented phenomenon — the simultaneous presence of the two governors: the relief governor having arrived, and the relieved governor fearing to depart at so critical an emergency. Whilst awaiting the orders from Yedo, the colleagues deliberated. They inquired whether the Dutch factory could accommodate the embassy at Dezima, which Doeff, though straitened for room in consequence of a recent fire, agreed to do. But the proposal was not repeated, and the governors next talked of giving the Russians the use of a temple. This idea likewise was abandoned, and finally a fish warehouse, over against Dezima, but at the further extremity of Nagasaki, was selected for the residence of the Russian embassy. It was accordingly cleared out, cleaned, and prepared for their reception, by enclosing it with palisades, to prevent external communication. These preliminary arrangements being completed, Count Resanoff was, about the middle of December, installed with his suite in this strange *hotel d'ambassade*, where the Russian soldiers mounted guard with unloaded muskets. It is said that the court of Yedo decidedly disapproved of this ungentlemanlike treatment, in minor points, of the rejected European embassy. A former *ziogoon* had, indeed, beheaded a Portuguese embassy, leaving only enough survivors to carry home the report of their reception; but he had not degraded or insulted them.

All these delays, difficulties, and annoyances, which Doeff ascribes to Resanoff's refusal to give up his guns and perform the *kotoo*, were imputed by the Russians to Dutch influence and misrepresentation. This question requires no investigation; of course, the Dutch did not wish the Russian mission success, but underhand efforts were scarcely wanted to ensure its failure. The affair, was, however, deemed important even at Yedo, as this is said to have been one of the very few occasions upon which the *ziogoon** consulted the *mikado;* probably wishing for his sanction of a refusal that might lead to war.

Towards the end of March, a commissioner, who appears to have been a spy of the higher grade, arrived from Yedo with the answer of the *ziogoon*, and the Russian ambassador was invited to an audience, at which he should hear it read.

---

* Fischer.

The governor requested Doeff to lend his own *norimono* for the conveyance of the ambassador from his warehouse-lodging to the government-house. The other preparations made were directed solely towards preventing the European intruder from acquiring any knowledge of Nagasaki or its inhabitants. The shutters of the windows of all the houses in the streets through which he was to pass were ordered to be closed; the ends of all the streets abutting upon those streets to be boarded up, and every inhabitant, not called by official duty to the procession or the audience, was commanded to remain at home.

A pleasure-boat of the Prince of Fizen conveyed the Russian embassy across the bay to the landing-place, where the Dutch president's *norimono* awaited the ambassador; a solitary acknowledgment of rank, as his whole suite followed on foot. The next day a second audience was granted, and in consequence of a heavy rain, *cagos* were provided for the Russian officers. The answer was a decided refusal, and Doeff was requested to assist the interpreters in translating the Japanese official document into Dutch. He observed that the Russians probably did not understand this language, and offered to make a French version of the paper. But the Japanese, knowing nothing of French, could not have judged whether a translation into that language was correct; a point far more important in their eyes, than such a trifle as the answer being intelligible or not to those to whom it was addressed.

But though the object of the negotiation was peremptorily rejected, the negotiation itself was not yet over. The *ziogoon* had rejected the presents offered him from the czar, whereupon Count Resanoff naturally declined accepting the Japanese presents sent for himself. This was a point of vital importance to the Governor of Nagasaki individually; he had been ordered to make the ambassador accept these presents, and a failure would have left him no alternative; he must have ripped himself up, imitated, most likely, by a reasonable proportion of his subordinate officers. By dint of entreaty, the interpreters, who had by this time picked up a little Russian, prevailed upon Resanoff to accept something; and indeed if they, or Doeff by letter, explained to him the inevitable consequences of his pertinacious refusal, a man of common good-nature could not but yield.

The Japanese, according to custom upon occasion of rejecting overtures, defrayed the expenses of the Russians at Nagasaki, and gratuitously supplied the ship with necessaries at her departure. The bitter reciprocal accusations between the baffled Russian diplomatist and the

Dutch *opperhoofd*, are irrevelant to our object; the more so, perhaps, that Resanoff did not live to hear Doeff's charges against himself, or even to give an account of his mission. But short as was the remainder of his life, it allowed him time to take measures for the gratification of his own anger at his treatment at Nagasaki, which must have determined for a long time, if not permanently, the exclusion of his countrymen from any intercourse with Japan.

Instigated by such vindictive feelings, he appears to have resolved upon making Japan feel the wrath of Russia. For this purpose, during his stay in Siberia, or Kamtschatka, he directed two officers of the Russian navy, named Chwostoff and Davidoff, then temporarily commanding merchant-vessels trading between the eastern coast of the Russian dominions in Asia and the western coast of North America, to effect a hostile landing upon the most northern Japanese islands, or their dependencies.

It must here be stated that, before this period, the Russians had gradually possessed themselves of the northern Kurile islands, the whole Kurile archipelago, northern and southern, having for centuries been esteemed a dependency of the Japanese empire, and more immediately of the Prince of Matsmai. Whether this loss of a few islands in a rude and savage state were even known at

Yedo, the Dutch factory were of course ignorant; and it seems not unlikely that the prince and his secretary-masters, if they could secure themselves against spies, would deem it expedient to conceal a disaster rather disgraceful than otherwise important.

It was upon Sagalien, one of the southern Kuriles, still belonging to Japan, that Chwostoff and Davidoff, in obedience to Resanoff's orders, landed in the year 1806. This being the most unguarded part of the empire, they were able, unopposed, to plunder several villages, commit great ravages, and carry off many of the natives. On re-embarking, they left behind them papers in the Russian and French languages, announcing that this was done to teach the Japanese to dread the power of Russia, and to show them the folly of which they had been guilty, in rejecting Count Resanoff's friendly overtures.

The Japanese government, provincial and supreme, was utterly confounded at this whole transaction. The Governor of Nagasaki, evidently by orders from on high, repeatedly asked the Dutch president's opinion of its object; and the French papers were sent to the factory, with a request that Doeff would translate them. Some of the interpreters had gained sufficient Russian during the six months' detention of the embassy to make a sort of translation of the Russian copy;

and thus, by comparing the two versions, the council of state might be enabled to judge of the fidelity, as to matter and spirit, of Doeff's.

The only immediate result of this really wanton outrage, was the degradation of the Prince of Matsmai, who was judged incapable of protecting his subjects or defending his dominions; and the conversion of his principality into an imperial province. Matsmai, with its dependencies, Yezo and the Kuriles, was thenceforth committed to an imperial governor.

Four years later, Capt. Golownin was sent in a frigate to explore the Japanese seas, and especially the portion of the Kurile archipelago still belonging to Japan. In the course of a voyage of discovery so likely to offend the feelings of the Japanese, some of Golownin's crew indiscreetly landed upon the Kurile islands Eeterpoo—or, according to Siebold's orthography, Jetorop—near a fortress, and they were in danger of being taken; but Golownin persuaded the commandant that the hostile incursion of Chwostoff and Davidoff had been a sheer act of piracy on their part, for which they had been punished—they had been imprisoned, but suffered to escape, and as far as appears, not dismissed the service—and that he himself had only approached the coast because in want of wood and water. A Kurile who spoke Russ, and a Japanese who spoke the Kurile tongue, were Golownin's usual medium of conversation. The commandant was satisfied, treated Golownin hospitably, and gave him a letter to the commandant of another Jetorop fortress, where, the anchorage being safer, wood and water might be more conveniently shipped.

Golownin made no use of this friendly introduction, but continued for weeks to sail about amongst the islands, exploring, according to his instructions. When at length the wants he had prematurely alleged really pressed, he did not seek the Jetorop harbour recommended by him, but cast anchor in a bay of another yet more southern Kurile island, Kunashir. Here a similar misunderstanding occurred with the commandant of an adjoining fortress, but was not so happily got over. The Japanese officer merely affected to be satisfied till he had lulled Golownin into security; and then, upon his landing without his usual precautions, surprised, overpowered, and made prisoners of him, his officers, and his boat's crew.

The mixture of cruelty and kindness that marked their treatment astonished the Russians, but is easily intelligible to those who have studied and made acquaintance with the Japanese character. The cruelty was deemed essential to their safe custody, and any torture contributing to an object held of importance, would be unhesitatingly, as relentlessly, inflicted. The kindness was the genuine offspring of Japanese good-nature, ever prompt to confer favours, grant indulgences, and give pleasure, even at the cost of some personal inconvenience.

Thus the Russians were bound all over with small cords so tightly, rendering them so perfectly helpless as to induce the necessity of their meat and drink being put into their mouths; whilst their legs were allowed just sufficient liberty to enable them to walk. The ends of each man's cord were held by a soldier; and in this state they were driven over land, or piled upon one another in boats, when they were to cross the sea. Their complaints that the cords cut into their flesh were totally disregarded; and though the wounds were carefully dressed every night, the cords were neither removed nor slackened; but their guards, who underwent more fatigue than themselves, were always ready to carry them when tired, and seemed to grant, with pleasure, the frequent requests of the compassionate villagers of both sexes upon their road, to be permitted to give the prisoners a good meal; when the givers stood around, and feeding them like infants, seemed to enjoy the refreshment they afforded. The Russians were, moreover, constantly assured that they were only bound as Japanese prisoners of their rank would be.

They were finally conveyed to Matsmai, and there kept in prison, After a while, a good house was prepared for their accommodation, where they could be guarded with less annoyance to themselves. The use they made of this indulgence was to attempt an escape, which of course led to their being again committed to the surer custody of a prison. The continued friendliness of the governor after this evasion, the success of which must have compelled him to the *hara-kiri* operation—and they were not retaken for some days—is a lively example of the genuinely kind temper of the Japanese. So is the behaviour of one of their guards, who, though degraded from a soldier to a prison servant, because on duty at the time of their flight, exerted himself unremittingly to procure them comforts. The grand topics of Golownin's incessant complaints in prison, where he and his companions were immediately unbound, are want of food and troublesome questions; but this simply means, that the abstemious Japanese could not even conceive the appetite of a Russian sailor, and that the Europeans were above answering questions which, under reversed circumstances, they would gladly have put.

The Japanese government endeavoured to profit by the captivity of the Russians, both to instruct and improve the interpreters in that language, and to acquire astronomical science, of which they hoped to learn more from naval officers than was possessed by merchants. Amongst the learned men sent from Yedo for this purpose was Doeff's friend, the astronomer Takahaso Sampai, who was likewise, according to the *opperhoofd*, a commissioner appointed to act with the Governor of Matsmai. As Golownin, who calls him Teské, and speaks of him with affection, seems unconscious of this branch of his mission, it may be suspected that even the philosopher upon that occasion played the part of a *metsuke*, or spy.

Nearly two years from the seizure of Golownin elapsed ere such a disavowal of Chwostoff and Davidoff was obtained from competent Russian authority, as would satisfy the court at Yedo. When the disavowals and explanations were at length admitted, and the prisoners allowed to re-embark in Golownin's own ship, which had carried on the negotiation between the two empires, the cordial joy and sympathy of the Russians' Japanese friends are described as really affecting.

Golownin, upon his departure, was charged with a written document, warning the Russians against further seeking an impossibility, such as permission to trade with Japan. The warning seems to have been respected, as no subsequent attempts at intercourse with, or upon the southern Kuriles are mentioned.

The English endeavours to revive the long interrupted and abandoned trade with Japan are the next and last to be narrated. The first of these was too slight to give offence, and may be briefly despatched. Soon after Capt. Stewart's last visit to Nagasaki, another strange vessel was reported to be off the bay. She was visited by the accustomed Japanese and Dutch deputation, and announced herself as a British merchantman from Calcutta, sent thither to endeavour to open a commercial intercourse between India and Japan. The cross was omitted in her flag, in compliment to the prejudices of the latter nation. The captain's request for leave to trade was refused, and the ship ordered away.*

The next British vessel that visited Japan was the *Phaeton*. Her intrusion into the Bay of Nagasaki, as has been explained, had no connexion with views of traffic; but its unfortunate results left a hatred of the English name rankling in the hearts of the Japanese, very unpropitious to subsequent amicable or mercantile relations. Various additional measures of precaution were ordered, of which the demand of hostages from every strange sail prior to her entering the bay, as mentioned by Siebold, is one.

The British merchants made no second effort to trade with Japan; but in the year 1811, Batavia was attacked by an English armament, and Governor Jansens, when he capitulated, did so for Java and all its dependencies. One of these dependencies the factory at Dezima undoubtedly was, the *opperhoofd*, as well as the inferior officers and members, having always been appointed and sent thither by the Governor of Batavia for the time being, with whom the *opperhoofd* corresponded, and to whose authority he was always subject. The English Governor of Java, Sir Stamford Raffles, therefore naturally considered the Dutch establishment in Japan as part of his government; and in the year 1813, proceeded to enforce his authority in that quarter, and thus effect the transfer of the factory and the trade to England. The measures he took for this purpose were the quietest possible; he despatched two ships, as the annual traders, having on board a new Dutch *opperhoofd*—now British by allegiance—Heer Cassa, to relieve *Opperhoofd* Doeff, who had already held his office more than double the usual time, and two commissioners—one Dutch, Doeff's predecessor and patron, Wardenaar; the other English, Dr. Ainslie—to examine and settle the affairs of the factory.

To the Japanese these ships, upon being visited, appeared simply two more Americans, hired by the Dutch; and although to the factory deputation there seemed a something mysterious about them, it was not till Wardenaar landed and explained to the president and the warehouse-master that Holland was no more, the European provinces being incorporated with France and the foreign colonies surrendered to England, that the state of the case was understood. Neither, indeed, can it be said to have been properly understood then, for Heer Doeff refused to believe the first of the facts stated, and consequently to acknowledge English authority.

The question between Sir Stamford Raffles and Heer Doeff, who ought, assuredly to have felt himself bound by the act of his superior, Governor Jansens, is perhaps somewhat complicated by the circumstance of the English governor, like the Russian ambassador, not having lived to know the charges brought against him. It is one not to be investigated without the examination of official documents, and even then the discussion being irrelevant to the peculiarities and nationality of the Japanese, would be misplaced here. It may suffice to point out the improbability of Heer Doeff's statement, that not only were no proofs given him of the facts alleged, but that none were even sent the following year, although he had grounded his disobedience upon the want of such proofs—even of European newspapers.

Be this as it may, Heer Doeff resolved to remain *opperhoofd*, keeping the factory Dutch, and the trade in his own hands. The animosity against the English, originating in the suicides occasioned by the adventure of the *Phaeton*, placed power in his hands, and he used it skilfully for his own purposes. He was obliged however, to seek the aid of the interpreters, as in all underhand proceedings.

Heer Doeff invited the five chief interpreters to Dezima, and in Wardenaar's presence communicated to them that gentleman's statements, his own disbelief of all beyond the conquest of Java by the English, and the fact that the ships then in the harbour were English. The Japanese were confounded at the idea of public vicissitudes so foreign to their experience, and terrified at the weight of responsibility impending over the authorities of Nagasaki, who had again been duped into suffering the intrusion of English vessels. Willingly, therefore, did they agree to the scheme by which Doeff proposed to avert such consequences. This was to suppress the whole history of the conquest, and to state that a successor had been sent him, in case the Japanese should object to the further prolongation of his already unwontedly prolonged presidentship; but that the Governor of Batavia wished, if not disagreeable to the Governor of Nagasaki, to continue him yet a while as *opperhoofd*, that he might profit by a few years of trade, after so many blank seasons. This arranged, Doeff proposed to buy the cargoes of the ships, negotiate their sale and the purchase of return cargoes with the Japanese on his own account, and finally to sell the latter to the English commissioner.

The strong representations made by Doeff and the interpreters of the hatred entertained by the Japanese towards the English, of the conflict and bloodshed that must ensue upon revealing the truth, evils they had not been sent there to provoke, and probably their having already surrendered their arms, in obedience to Japanese law and Dutch custom, induced the intended president, the commissioners, and the captains of the vessels, to submit to Doeff's terms. The stratagem succeeded; the vessels passed for Americans in the Dutch service, and Doeff remained Dutch *opperhoofd*, Dezima alone in the whole world then being in fact Dutch.

Dr. Ainslie, who now visited in Nagasaki, according to Doeff, as an American physician, appears, from the very slight report of his mission given in Sir Stamford Raffles' Memoir, to have experienced great kindness and hospitality, and to have been much pleased with the Japanese character, especially with the treatment of women, and the elegant manners of the ladies. It is to be observed that this report gives the impression of Dr. Ainslie's having been known as an Englishman. Indeed, he positively states that the Japanese spoke to him of his countrymen with respect, averring their conviction that the English would never play a second act of the Russian embassy. Indeed one might almost suspect, were not the matter a point so important in Japanese estimation, and the consequences of the unlawful entrance of the English ships so suicidal, that the whole affair had been simply *nayboen*. But, as before said, this is not the place for discussing the question as mooted between Sir S. Raffles and *Opperhoofd* Doeff; and the subject may be dismissed with the expression of the wish, that the publication of the president's Recollections may induce some one who possesses, or has access to, the requisite knowledge of the facts, to give a British statement of them to the world.

In 1814, Heer Cassa again appeared at Dezima as appointed *opperhoofd*, bringing tidings of the great events of 1813 in Europe, especially of the Dutch insurrection in behalf of the House of Orange, and the consequent prospect of the immediate restoration of the Dutch colonies by England. Sir S. Raffles and Heer Cassa probably expected that this information would remove all Heer Doeff's patriotic objections to follow the fate of his lawful superior, Governor Jansens, and obey orders from Batavia, as of old. But Doeff still professed disbelief, and recurring to the measures of the preceding year, inforced compliance by the same threats then employed. He was now energetically aided by the interpreters, whose lives would be inevitably forfeited should their previous complicity be discovered.

This year, however, Heer Cassa was less unprepared for the conflict—he counter-manœuvred; and had he engaged no lady-domestics from the tea-houses, might possibly have triumphed. He gained over two of the confidential interpreters, and negotiated through them, although not the disclosure replete with danger to all, yet the procuring from the court of Yedo a refusal of Doeff's request for leave to remain. But some of the women in Cassa's service were Doeff's spies; from them he learned what was going forward, and by threatening the interpreters to lay the whole truth, at all hazards, before the Governor of Nagasaki, he carried his point, and again sent away his appointed successor. Sir S. Raffles did not apparently think it worth while, under the circumstances, to renew an attempt, in which even success could no longer promise permanent advantage to England. He sent no more ships; and as some time elapsed ere a Dutch government was re-established and in full action in Java, Heer Doeff paid the price of his victory in another interval of years without trade, emoluments, or European comforts. It was not till 1817 that Dutch vessels brought him a Dutch-appointed successor, Heer Blomhoff.

All that need be added, upon the subject of these attempts, is, that Japan now possesses interpreters understanding English and Russian as well as Dutch, and that, since the year 1830, these interpreters are, according to Siebold, stationed at different points all round the external coast, in preparation for the possible approach of any strange ship. It seems something singular that in Dr. Parker's account of his repulse in 1837, these interpreters are not mentioned; unless we are to suppose that they might be present, but finding Mr. Gutzlaff perform their part, thought it politic to conceal their own knowledge of English, thus preventing the cautious restraint which their presence would otherwise have imposed upon the strangers. If this were the case, they might thus discover the missionary scheme, and hence the virulence of the hostile attack, without the vessel having been first ordered away—the usual milder course.

Dr. Siebold speaks of squabbles in his time with English whalers, that necessarily or unnecessarily violated the Japanese harbours. Yet, as it appears that some of these very offending whalers have since been supplied with wood and water, it may be hoped that the bitterness of animosity to England has subsided, unless revived by Dr. Parker's missionary views, as it must still and ever be difficult for the Japanese to distinguish between English and Americans, without the assistance of the Dutch, which will of course not be given, when the withholding it can help to exclude a commercial rival.

CHAPTER XI.

LANGUAGE, LITERATURE, AND SCIENCE OF JAPAN.

The language original. — Grammar. — Alphabet. — Variety of written characters.—Their several uses.—Printing. — Books. — Geography. — History. — Moral philosophy. — Encyclopædias.—Poetry. — Specimens. —Science. —Medical.—Acupuncture and moxa-burning. — Astronomy. — Whimsical measurement and division of time. — Cycles. — Year. — Hours of the day and night. — Odd system of numbering them. — Cloaks. — Civil engineering and mechanics.

The Japanese language was long supposed to be, if not a mere dialect of the Chinese, yet as closely connected therewith as the Italian and Spanish languages are with each other, or with their common parent, the Latin. This supposition, not based upon the study of the two languages, was probably deduced from the fact, that the Japanese understood written, though not spoken, Chinese, whilst the Chinese reciprocally understood Japanese, when written in the Chinese character — one of the many used in Japan: a circumstance which, though startling at first sight, becomes perfectly intelligible, when it is recollected that the Chinese characters express, not letters or unmeaning sounds, the mere constituent elements of words, but the words themselves, or rather the ideas which those words signify; and therefore must convey the same ideas, expressed by different words, to whomsoever knows the meaning of the ideographic characters; just as the numerals 1, 2, 3, convey the same ideas of the several numbers to the natives of different countries, although expressed in each by different words. It may be added that the Japanese are said to speak a dialect of the Chinese in addition to their own language, but whether this means that the Chinese of Japanese learned men is a dialect, or that such a dialect is the common language in any part of the empire, is not explained.*

The more profound and more accurate knowledge of oriental languages acquired of late years by the scientific philologists of England, France, and Germany, has thrown light upon this erroneous idea respecting the Japanese tongue. The erudite Klaproth explicitly declares, in his *Asia Polyglotta*, the Japanese to be so dissimilar to all known languages in structure, grammar, and every characteristic, as to prove that the nation who speak it must be a distinct race; and not, as had also been imagined, a Chinese colony. A disquisition on this subject would be out of place here; but a glance at the specimens given by Meylan and Fischer, is sufficient to show one very striking and essential dissimilarity between Chinese and Japanese. Every body knows the former to be a monosyllabic language, while Japanese is polysyllabic; nay, it might be called hyper-polysyllabic, since the simple pronoun *I* cannot be expressed in Japanese by a smaller number of syllables than five, *watakoesi;* and to multiply *I* into *we,* requires the further addition of a dissyllable, as *watakoesi-domo.* At the same time, it must be admitted that, of these syllables, some are held, it should seem, so far supernumerary as to be dropped in speaking. Thus, in the Japanese dialogues given by Overmeer Fischer, who, avows his knowledge of the language to be merely adequate to the common purposes of every-day life, the *watakoesi* and *watakoesi-domo* of Meylan's grammatical specimen are contracted into the less euphonious, but much shorter, *watakfs,* and *watakfs-domo.*

---

* Siebold.

Fischer says that the sound of Japanese is soft and sweet; Meylan, that some of the letters cannot be articulated, save by native organs "to the manner born;" a matter that seems not unlikely, judging from the difficult contraction of the personal pronoun. The president adds, that in Japanese there are no articles; and that the declension of nouns is by small words following the noun to be declined, like the *domo* following and attached to *watakoesi,* for the purpose of making it plural. In fact, the name and nature of the preposition are simply reversed, by being made to follow instead of preceding; thus assuming something of the character of declension by change in the termination. With respect to verbs, they remain unaltered by person or number, though varying with the tense.

The Japanese have an alphabet of forty-seven letters, which may be in a manner doubled, by affixing marks to the consonants that modify their sounds, rendering it harder or softer. This alphabet dates from the eighth century, and may be written in four different sets of characters. These are, the *katakana,* which is held appropriate to the use of men; the *hiragane,* similarly appropriated to women; the *manyokana* and the *yamatogana,* the difference between which, in use or nature, is not explained, but they are said to show the original type of every letter. In addition to these four sets of characters, the Chinese is used as a sort of learned character; probably a symptom and consequence of the arts and sciences having been brought from China to Japan. In this Chinese character all works of science, or appertaining to the higher departments of literature, as also official papers and public documents, are still written or printed. But even learned men employ their own *katakana* in writing annotations upon books, the text of which is in the Chinese character. The Japanese, like the Chinese, write in columns, from the top to the bottom of the paper, and begin from the right side.

Books intended for the instruction of either children or the lower orders are invariably printed in *hiragane* letters; but we are told that, in those designed for the well-educated classes, all four kinds of letters are often indiscriminately used, and intermixed with the Chinese ideographic character; one word, or even one syllable, being written in one character, and the next in another: no small addition to the difficulty of making any progress in Japanese literature.

Japan has long possessed the art of printing, after a fashion sufficient for the diffusion of literature, but not emulating the splendour of the London press. The Japanese printers are unacquainted with moveable types, and they rather multiply manuscript copies by means of a very inferior sort of stereotype in wood, or by woodcuts, than really print, as we understand the process. Still they supply the public with books, and we are assured that reading is the favourite recreation of both sexes in Japan, especially at the *mikado's dairi.*

Japanese literature comprises works of science, history, biography, geography, travels, moral philosophy, natural history, poetry, the drama, and encyclopædias. Of the merits of the productions of Japanese genius, in most of these departments, the Dutch writers speak highly; but considering that the members of the Dezima factory are not likely in general to have enjoyed the most finished or scholarlike education, we may be allowed to receive their judgment with some distrust. Nor is this want of confidence in the critical taste of these eulogists of Japanese literature diminished by turning to the very few data upon which we, in this country, can form an opinion for ourselves.

Klaproth has given a French version of a geographical treatise, and Titsingh has translated, or caused to be translated, Annals of the *Dairi*, and Annals of the *Ziogoons* of the Gongen dynasty. Of these works, the first is by far the best; it is minute, and no doubt imparts accurate knowledge of the geography and form of administration of the three claimed dependencies of the Japanese empire, Corea, the Loo Tchoo islands, and Yezo, including the Kurile archipelago. Its faults are dryness and dullness, unavoidable, perhaps, in a geographical description, and a great deficiency of statistical information. The Annals of the *Dairi* have been recently corrected and edited by Klaproth;

and a more jejune account of births, marriages, accessions, abdications, and deaths, with a few sicknesses, pilgrimages, and rebellions—even these last uninterestingly told—it would be difficult to conceive. The Annals of the *Ziogoons* are similar in character, though interspersed with curious anecdotes; but these likewise are very heavily narrated, whilst some of them are evidently gleaned by Titsingh, or his Japanese translators, (for according to Klaproth Titsingh knew little of the language, and relied altogether upon the interpreters) from other sources than the original Annals. Altogether, the three works, though valuable for the information they supply, are such as it is a serious task to wade through.

It should perhaps be added, in qualification of the severity of this criticism upon that which is so imperfectly known, that as Klaproth censures Titsingh's translations as inaccurate, and betraying ignorance either of the Japanese or the Dutch language, his own are similarly condemned by Siebold, or his coadjutor J. Hoffmann, whom the learned doctor has employed to make German versions of extracts from different Japanese works. Of J. Hoffman's opportunities of acquiring the tongue so little accessible to ordinary students, or of his proficiency therein, no explanation is given, no means of judging are afforded; but as his criticisms and translations are published by

Siebold in his ARCHIVE, they must be received as bearing the stamp of his authority. Some of the extracts given in the last numbers of the Archive are amongst the most agreeable specimens of Japanese literature that have as yet been placed within the reach of mere European readers; they are all in prose, and parts of them will be given in the chapters dedicated to the subjects of which they treat.

Of the moral philosophy, all that can be gathered is, that it deals in commentaries* upon the moral precepts of the Chinese philosopher Kung-foo-tsze, or Confucius, and commentaries upon the Sintoo mythology, which the highest philosophy allegorizes into the epochs of creation. The encyclopædias (of which M. Rémusat has given an excellent specimen†) appear to be little more than picture-books, with letter-press explanations, arranged, like other Japanese dictionaries, sometimes alphabetically, sometimes according to a not very scientific classification of the subjects.‡

Of the Japanese art of poetry, of its metre or rhyme, or substitute for either, nothing is said by any of these writers; but Presidents Meylan and Titsingh furnish some specimens, as far as prose translations can be said to afford a specimen of poetry. A selection from these examples may be here introduced; and as both gentlemen give the originals, printed in Roman characters, the insertion of one or two of these will show the form of the stanza, rhyme, &c. They will also show that either the Japanese language has great power of compression, or the Dutch translator is very prolix. The Dutch version is here rendered, line by line.

---

* Siebold and Fischer.

† *MSS. de la Bibl. du Roi*, vol. xi. p. 123.

‡ See Note XIV.

Aīta kanbé
Kawo mita kanbé
Mamani hana siwo
Itasi ta kanbé
Oeti siri tara
Sakamasi kanbé
Sikenni war kanbé.

Yes! eager is my longing
To look upon thy face,
With thee some words to speak;
But this I must renounce;
For should it in my dwelling
Once chance to be divulged,
That I with thee had spoken,
Then grievous were the trouble
Would surely light on me
For certain my good name
Were lost for evermore.

The following ethical stanza is likewise given in the original, because in it are some lines longer than in any of the other specimens; but whether this be accidental, or regulated by the nature of the subject, is not explained.

Kokoro da ni makoto,
No mitri ni kana fi naba,
I! no ra tsoe to te mo kami,
Iama mo ramoe.

Upright in heart be thou, and pure,
So shall the blessing of God
Through eternity be upon thee;
Clamorous prayers shall not avail,
But truly a clear conscience,
That worships and fears in silence.

One of Titsingh's specimens, a short poem upon the murder of Yamasiro, a councillor of state, is both rather more poetical, and exemplifies the allusions to old stories or legends, and the play upon words, said to characterize Japanese poetry. This president, or rather his French translator, has added to his Dutch a Latin version, professedly literal, and no longer than the original; for which reason, it may be better to translate that (even if not literally, which the singular collocation of the words, dislocated beyond ordinary Latin dislocation, would, even more than the extreme compression, render difficult in English), than to copy the doubly and trebly translated translations; his work being published only in French and English, not in Dutch. It must be premised, that the constituent parts of the murdered man's name, being *yama*, 'mountain,' and *siro*, 'castle,' afford a happy opportunity for puns.

"That the young councillor is cut off at the castle on the hill by a new guard, exciting a tumult, I have just heard.

Yamasiro's white robe being dyed with blood, all behold in him the reddening councillor.

Along the eastern way, through the village Sanno, the rushing waters poured, burst the dyke of the swamp, and the mountain-castle fell.

The precious trees planted in vases, the plum-trees and cherry-trees beautiful with their blossoms, who threw into the fire? Twas Sanno cut them down.

[This alludes to an old tale of one Sanno's still unbounded hospitality, when reduced to extreme indigence].

Cut down is the insane councillor. We might say, had such things ever before been heard of, this was the chastisement of Heaven."

These specimens may suffice; but as the compression and style of Japanese verse have certainly not been displayed in the Dutch translations, perhaps one stanza of the Latin, which professes to be line for line, may not be unacceptable.

Præcidisse
Consiliarum minorem
Nuper audivi,
In montis castello
Turbas excitantem novum custodem.

With the statement that ballads, romances, and songs are said to constitute the greater number of Japanese poems, this subject may now be dismissed. Of the drama, all that could be found has already been given, in speaking of the theatrical representations at Ohosaka; and we may now turn from light literature to science.

The only sciences that can be said to be cultivated in Japan, are medicine and astronomy, and upon these we are assured that original works, as well as translations of all European publications, accessible to the Japanese through Dutch versions, are constantly appearing. Of the merits of the original works we have no means of judging, save by inference from the reports of the abilities and knowledge of the Japanese physicians and astronomers; and on this head, those of the medical travellers are favourable. Dr. von Siebold dwells eulogistically upon the zeal with which physicians from all parts of the empire thronged about him to acquire medical science of a higher character than their own; and his opinion of the intelligence and knowledge evinced by their questions has been already mentioned. The latter remark applies equally to the astronomers; and it may be added, that their sense of the scientific superiority of Europe, alone, places the Japanese far above the self-sufficient Chinese.

Of the proficiency of the medical profession in Japan, some further notion may be formed from the assertion that acupuncture and *moxa*-burning are native inventions. The former of these remedies, having been introduced into this country, needs no description; but it may be worth mentioning, that among the books brought to Europe by Heer Titsingh, is one containing accurate directions for its use, with an enumeration of the maladies it is calculated to relieve, and accompanied by a doll, upon which is marked every part of the frame adapted to the operation, according to the several cases. *Moxa*-burning is a means of blistering, or making an issue, by burning balls of fungus (*moxa*) upon the skin.

The drugs employed in Japanese pharmacy are mostly animal and vegetable, chemistry being far too superficially and imperfectly known to allow physicians to venture upon mineral remedies. But botany, as connected with the knowledge of simples, is diligently cultivated, and the medicines used are said to be generally beneficial; the chief reliance, however, is upon diet, acupuncture, and the *moxa*. Superstition is the main obstacle to the progress of medicine and surgery: its baneful influence was apparent in what has been incidentally mentioned respecting the obstetric department of the science; and the pollution incurred by contact with death, renders dissection, and consequently anatomical science, impossible.

In astronomy, the proficiency made is yet greater, perhaps, from there being no superstitious impediments in the way of progress in the science. The Japanese astronomers study the most profound works, such as Lalande's treatises, that have been translated into Dutch, and have learned the use of most European instruments. These they have taught Japanese artists to imitate, and Meylan saw good telescopes, barometers, and thermometers, of Japanese workmanship. In consequence, the almanacks, which were formerly imported from China, are now constructed at home, the calculation of eclipses included, in the Yedo and *Dairi* colleges.

The measurement and division of time are in Japan very peculiar, and not very easy to be understood. For chronological purposes, cycles are employed; of these there are three, unconnected and concurrent. The one is formed by a somewhat complicated blending of astronomy with other branches of natural philosophy; the remaining two are simple, and may therefore be first mentioned.

The cycle habitually used in history for dates is the *nengo*. This is a period of arbitrary, and therefore ever-varying length, from one year to any number of years. It is regulated by the pleasure of the reigning *mikado*, according to any remarkable or accidental occurrence that he thinks worthy of such commemoration; he may, for instance, appoint a new *nengo* to begin from the building of a temple, from an earthquake, or the like; and he gives it a name descriptive of its origin, either simply, or, in the oriental style, metaphorically, allegorically, and enigmatically. Thus, a *mikado* ordered a new *nengo* to begin on his abdication, and named it the *nengo genrokf;* literally, "the *nengo* of the happiness of nature and art;" implying that he, in his retirement, should have leisure to enjoy both. The new *nengo* lasts till some subsequent fresh event induces the same *mikado*, or his successor, immediate or remote, to terminate it and commence another.

The other simple mode of computation is by the reign or *daï* of every successive *mikado*. This, as the most straight-forward, is the one in common use. The only difficulty to which it seems liable, namely, the interruption of a reign in the middle of a year, is obviated by the provision, that the whole year in which a *mikado* abdicates or vanishes is reckoned to him who begun it, and the *daï* of the successor calculated only from the next new year's day.

The third, the astronomical cycle of sixty years, is far other, and a very complex affair, being constructed by calculation out of the signs of the Zodiac and the elements. The former are reckoned in Japan, as perhaps wherever astronomy has been studied, twelve, and differ from ours only in their names. These are—1, the mouse; 2, the bull; 3, the tiger; 4, the hare; 5, the dragon; 6, the snake; 7, the horse; 8, the goat or sheep; 9, the monkey; 10, the cock; 11, the dog; 12, the boar.

The elements* of the Japanese are more original. They are held to be five in number, excluding air, and including wood and metal as elementary substances. But these five are whimsically doubled, by taking each in a twofold character, and separately, as one in its natural state, and another as adapted to the use of man, yet in each an element. This is so strange, as to be worth giving at length, and in the proper order.

---

* Meylan.

1. *Kino-ye* is wood in its natural state, as a tree; this is the first element, and becomes,

2. *Kino-to*, when cut down and converted into timber.

3. *Fino-ye* is the element of fire in its original state, as appearing in the sun's heat, lightning, volcanic eruptions, &c.

4. *Fino-to* is fire kindled by man, with wood, oil, &c.

5. *Tsoetsno-ye* is earth in its uncultivated state, on mountain-tops, at the bottom of the sea, &c.

6. *Tsoetsno-to* is earth as wrought by the hand of man into porcelain, earthenware, and the like. To which of these two elements tilled ground appertains, does not appear.

7. *Kanno-ye* is the metallic element in its native state of mineral ore.

8. *Kanno-to* is the metallic element smelted, &c.

9. *Mietsno-ye* is water as it flows from springs and in rivers; and

10. *Mietno-to* is the other watery element, as stagnant in pools and morasses: a curious deviation from the principle laid down, that adaptation to human use constitutes every second element.

Now, these ten elements being five times combined with the twelve signs of the Zodiac, in some way more complicated than intelligible, sixty compound figures are said to be obtained, each of which stands for a year in this most scientific cycle.*

The year is divided into twelve lunar months, but contains more than the number of days naturally belonging to such a year, because the *mikado* and his astronomers add a couple of days to several of the months, announcing always in the almanack of the year how many and which of the months they have thus increased. The difference between the lunar year, even thus lengthened, and the sidereal year, is corrected by inserting every third year an intercalary month, of varying length, according to the number of days the *mikado* has been pleased to make requisite.

But perhaps the most whimsical, and certainly the most inconvenient, division of time in Japan, is that by hours. A natural day and night is there divided into twelve hours, of which six are always allotted to the day—that is to say, to the interval between the rising and the setting of the sun; the other six to the night, or the period between sun-set and sun-rise. Thus, the hours of the day and of the night are never of equal duration in Japan, except at the equinoxes; in summer, the hours of the day being long, those of night short, and in winter *vice versâ.* Strictly speaking, the length of the hours should vary from day to day; but such extreme accuracy is dispensed with, and the variations are regulated only four times in the year, upon averages of three months.

---

* See Note XVIII.

Again, the numbering of these twelve hours, which seems so straight-forward a matter for people who can count twelve, is in Japan so strangely complicated, that had not the expedient been adopted of bestowing upon each hour the name of a sign of the Zodiac, in addition to its number, it would there be no easy task to answer the seemingly plain question of "What's o'clock?" An attempt must be made to explain this abstruse and original system.

Nine being esteemed the perfect number, noon and midnight are both called "nine o'clock"— the one of the day, the other of the night; while sun-rise and sun-set are respectively "six o'clock" of the day, and "six o'clock" of the night. If it be asked how nine can occur twice in twelve, the answer is, that the arithmetical impossibility is conquered or obviated by omitting the first and the last three numbers, beginning with four and ending with the perfect nine. The intermediate numbers are laboriously evolved from the multiplication table, and the system is based upon the profound respect entertained for number nine. Here is the process:—

Nine, being the hour of noon or midnight, is the point from which the numbering begins, and is considered as the first hour. Twice 9 is 18;

subtract the decimal figure and 8 remains, therefore is the hour following noon or midnight, say the second hour, 8 o'clock of the day or of the night. Three times 9 is 27; subtract the decimal figure and 7 remains, and the third hour becomes 7 o'clock of the day or the night. Four times 9 is 36; repeat the operation, and we find the fourth hour, which must invariably be sun-set or sun-rise, 6 o'clock of the night or the day. Five times 9 is 45; and the usual operation makes the hour following sun-set or sun-rise, or the fifth from either noon inclusively, 5 o'clock of the night or the day. Finally six times 9 is 54; and by the same operation we obtain a 4 for the sixth and last hour, which becomes 4 o'clock of the night or the day. Then comes again the noon, or 9 o'clock of night or of day. A table, which without previous explanation must have been unintelligible, will now place the sequence of the twelve hours of a natural day distinctly before the reader.

Midnight.	9 o'clock	night,	hour of the	Mouse.
	8 o'clock	do.	do.	Bull.
	7 o'clock	do.	do.	Tiger.
Sun-rise.	6 o'clock	day	do.	Hare.
	5 o'clock	do.	do.	Dragon.
	4 o'clock	do.	do.	Snake.
Noon.	9 o'clock	do.	do.	Horse.
	8 o'clock	do.	do.	Goat or Sheep.
	7 o'clock	do.	do.	Monkey.
Sun-set.	6 o'clock	night	do.	Cock.
	5 o'clock	do.	do.	Dog.
	4 o'clock	do.	do.	Boar.

These hours are always sounded by the bells of the temples. The measuring them seems a more difficult matter, although lengthening and shortening the pendulum is spoken of as sufficient for this purpose* (of course, daily, or rather twice a day, at sun-rise and sun-set, must be meant). Two indigenous modes are also mentioned. The one, which may evidently answer, by the burning of bodies of determinate magnitude—analogous to our Alfred's candles; the other by a peculiar sort of clock, described, not very intelligibly, to consist of a horizontal balance, having a weight at either end, moving back and forwards upon a pin.* The subject of hours and clocks may be concluded with the description of a clock—not its mechanism, unluckily—ordered in 1826 by the governor of Nagasaki as a present for the *ziogoon*, and considered as a masterpiece of mechanical genius. As such it was proudly exhibited to the Dutch factory, and certainly indicates more skill than taste.

"The clock† is contained in a frame three feet high by five feet long, and presents a fair landscape at noon-tide. Plum and cherry trees in full blossom, with other plants, adorn the foreground. The back-ground consists of a hill, from which falls a cascade, skilfully imitated in glass, that forms a softly-flowing river, first winding round rocks placed here and there, then running across the middle of the landscape, till lost in a wood of fir-trees. A golden sun hangs aloft in the sky, and, turning upon a pivot, indicates the striking of the hours. On the frame below, the twelve hours of day and night are marked, where a slowly-creeping tortoise serves as a hand. A bird, perched upon the branch of a plum-tree, by its song and the clapping of its wings, announces the moment when an hour expires, and as the song ceases, a bell is heard to strike the hour; during which operation, a mouse comes out of a grotto and runs over the hill. * * * Every separate part was nicely executed; but the bird was too large for the tree, and the sun for the sky, while the mouse scaled the mountain in a moment of time."

---

* Fischer. † Meylan.

The Japanese possess some little knowledge of mathematics, mechanics, trigonometry, and civil engineering; they have canals, intended chiefly for irrigation, and a great variety of bridges; they have learned to measure the height of mountains by the barometer, and have latterly constructed very good maps of the Japanese empire, of which the map annexed to this volume may serve as a specimen. In mechanics they have not got much beyond lathes and water-mills, nor do they desire to make further progress. The views entertained upon this subject were explicitly announced, upon occasion of the model of an oil-mill forming part of one of the yearly presents offered to the *ziogoon*. The ingenuity of the invention and its admirable mechanism were highly commended, but the model was returned, because the adoption of such an aid to labour would throw out of work all those Japanese who earn their bread in the ordinary mode of making oil.

Of military engineering and navigation the Japanese are wholly ignorant, although as an aid to the latter they have long possessed the mariner's compass.

CHAPTER XII.

ARTS, MANUFACTURES, TRADE, AND PRODUCE OF JAPAN.

Painting. — Prints. — Casting. — Lackerwork. — Metallurgy. — Sword-blades.— Manufactures.—Trade.—Produce.—Money. —Post.—Ship-building.—Husbandry.—Culture of Tea, and mode of drying. — Art of dwarfing trees, and of producing enormous sized vegetables.

THE state of the arts in Japan is another point upon which there is some difficulty in forming an opinion, partly from a little distrust in the *connoisseur*ship of the members of the factory at Dezima, and partly from the unanimous assurances given us that the best specimens in any department are utterly unattainable by foreigners. Some notion might, indeed, be formed upon the subject from the station of the artist in the classification of society, but for the possibility that this may denote rather a past than the present state. All that can, therefore, be safely affirmed is, that the arts are more advanced in that country than in China.

Respecting the art of music, there needs no addition to what has been already stated.

Leaving that, therefore, for the graphic art, we are told that the Japanese are extremely fond of painting, and eager collectors of pictures; that they sketch boldly with charcoal and often in ink, never having occasion to efface; that their outlines are clear, and their drawing as good as may be compatible with ignorance of perspective and anatomy. From this ignorance, probably, arises their acknowledged inability to take a likeness, the professed portrait-painters bestowing their care rather upon the dress than the features of their sitters. In birds and flowers they succeed better; and two folio volumes of paintings of flowers, with the name and properties of each written on the opposite page, the work of a Japanese lady, and by her presented to Heer Titsingh, her husband's friend, are spoken of as beautiful. Delicate finishing seems to be the chief excellence of Japanese artists.

Of the higher department of the art, landscape and figures, some specimens are afforded by the writers upon the subject, but so various in merit, that they perplex almost as much as they assist the judgment. Titsingh's plates of wedding and funeral processions, &c., from paintings by native artists, are, as nearly as may be, on a level with Chinese pictures. Meylan's are a shade better, and such as the qualified praise bestowed might lead one to expect.* Siebold's, although he visited Japan prior to Meylan, are far better, at least those of them which are taken from pictures painted for him; and this he explains, by stating that the young native artist whom he employed was studying the European principles of his art. It is to be hoped, for the sake of the future progress of the art in Japan, that this young artist may not have been the artist who was compelled to self-slaughter by his map-copying crime. But the plates in Overmeer Fischer's splendid volume are of a character so very superior to all others; they are so highly finished, and have so much of light and shade, though defective enough in drawing and perspective, that it is difficult not to suspect some few improving touches to have been given in Holland before the Japanese pictures passed into the engraver's hands; a suspicion certainly not weakened by the inspection of the Japanese rooms in the Royal Museum at the Hague, where we are told to seek the best specimens of every description that can be smuggled into Dezima and on ship-board.†

The Japanese are unacquainted with oil-painting, but skilful in the management of water-colours. These they prepare from minerals and vegetables, obtaining tints far more brilliant and beautiful than ours of the same kind.

---

* See Note XIX. † See Note XX.

Prints they have in abundance, but only woodcuts. The art of engraving upon copper has, however, been recently introduced amongst them, and adopted with an eagerness which promises well for its cultivation.

Of the art of sculpture, no trace appears in any of the authors, beyond the occasional mention of a little ornamental carving; but we are told that the Japanese have attained as much excellence in casting as is compatible with their utter disregard of proportions. They are said to cast handsome vases and images, and their bells are remarkable for the beauty of the *bas-reliefs* that adorn them. These bells have no metal tongues, but are sounded by striking them externally with wood.

Of architecture, as an art, no idea exists in this country.

Of the lacker-work, known in this country as Japan, all the writers assert that no adequate idea can be conceived from the specimens commonly seen in Europe. What is really fine, cannot be purchased by foreigners; and the best ever obtained by the members of the factory are received as presents from their Japanese friends. These are mostly deposited in the Royal Museum at the Hague; and although esteemed at home scarcely second-rate, are so really superior to the ordinary Japan, that no opinion should be given upon the beauty of the art, without having inspected that collection.

The whole process of lackering is extremely slow. The varnish, which is the resinous produce of a shrub called *oerosino-ki*, (*rhus vernix*,) or 'varnish plant,' requires a tedious preparation to fit it for use. It is tinted by slow and long-continued rubbing upon a copper-plate with the colouring-material; and the operation of lackering is as tedious as its preliminaries. Five different coats, at the very least, are successively applied, suffered to dry, and then ground down with a fine stone or a reed;* and it is only by this patient labour that the varnish acquires its excellence. The brilliant mother-of-pearl figures consist of layers of shell, cut and fashioned to the shape required, and coloured at the back; then laid into the varnish, and subjected to the same coating and grinding process as the rest, whence they derive their glittering splendour.

The Japanese do not understand cutting precious stones, and therefore set no value upon them, which may account for the want of jewellery in the dress of both sexes. In metallurgy they are, however, very skilful; and the beautiful work called *syakfdo*, in which various metals are partly blended, partly combined, producing an effect much resembling fine enamel, is used in lieu of jewels for girdle-clasps, boxes, sword-hilts, &c. But the branch of this art in which they surpass most other nations, is the tempering of steel, and their sword-blades are said to be of transcendent excellence, bearing the fine edge of a razor,* and capable of cutting through an iron nail, or an European sword, without turning or notching the edge. They are valued accordingly; as we are told that a sum equal to 100*l.* is not thought too much to give for a peculiarly fine sword blade, whilst an old one of exquisite temper, is esteemed beyond all price. Their exportation is prohibited, from some superstitious idea of an intimate connexion between Japanese valour and Japanese arms, as a joint heritage from their divine ancestors.

---

* See Note XXI.

Of the manufactures of the country, it is enough to say that they make every thing wanted for their own use; that their porcelain has degenerated from its pristine superiority, owing, it is said, to a deficiency of the peculiar fine clay of which it was formed; and that their most beautiful silks are woven by high-born criminals, who are confined upon a small, rocky, unproductive island, deprived of their property, and obliged to pay for the provisions, with which they are supplied by sea, with the produce of their manual labour. The exportation of these silks is likewise prohibited.

---

* Fischer.

With respect to commerce, the external trade is now limited to two Dutch ships and twelve Chinese junks yearly. Nor is this all. The value of the cargoes these vessels import is limited; for the Dutch to about 75,000*l.* sterling, for the Chinese to half as much more, annually. The exports have been progressively narrowed, until they are nearly confined to camphor and copper, and the quantity of the latter to be allowed is matter of constant dispute between the Dutch factory and the exchequer of Nagasaki. The government dreads the exhaustion of the mines.

The internal trade is said to be very considerable, its activity and importance originating in the variety of produce, resulting from the great variety of climate. The three principal islands, Nippon, Kiusiu, and Sikokf, are estimated to offer an area of 90,000 square miles, and with the smaller islands constituting the empire of Japan with its dependencies, the Loo-Choo islands to the south, and Yezo and the Kurile archipelago to the north, extend* from the 24th to the 50th degree north latitude, and from the 123 to the 150th east longitude. Hence the southern islands, although generally said not to be hot enough for the sugar-cane, teem with most of the fruits of the tropics, whilst the northern yield those of the temperate zones. The mountains abound in mineral wealth of every description, and the volcanic districts in sulphur. The silver mines of Tsusima were known and worked as far back as the year 674. This internal trade the government sedulously encourages, protects, and facilitates.

---

* Siebold.

The circulating medium of the country is gold, silver, and copper, but only the gold and higher silver pieces can properly be called coin. They bear the mint stamp, and are of ascertained value; the smaller silver pieces, and all the copper, appear to pass by weight. Paper-money is likewise current in some principalities, and bills of exchange are in use amongst the merchants.

A post for letters is established throughout the empire, which, though pedestrian, is said to be wonderfully expeditious.* Every carrier is accompanied by a partner, to guard against the possibility of delay from any accident that may chance to befal him. The men run at their utmost speed, and upon nearing the end of their stage, find the relay carriers awaiting them, to whom the packet is tossed moment they are within the reach of each other. The relay postmen have already started before the arriving postmen have stopped. The greatest prince of the empire, if he meets the postmen on the road, must give way, with his whole train, and take care that their course be not obstructed by him or his.

---

* Siebold.

By land, goods are conveyed on pack-horses and pack-oxen, that ascend and descend the already mentioned stair-case roads over the mountains. But the principal carriage of merchandize is by water; and for the navigation of their rivers and lakes, for fishing on the coasts, a coasting trade, and even crossing the sea from island to island, the Japanese vessels are very sufficient. That they are utterly inadequate to long voyages, arises from the government system of seclusion. A sort of Japanese navigation act prescribes the form in which ships must be built, requiring them to be so weak about the stern,* and the rudder to be so hung, that a rough sea must be almost certain to carry away the latter, if not to break a leak in the stern: a device pretty effectual to prevent the voluntary undertaking of long voyages, although its humanity may be questioned, since it must needs cause the loss of many fishing-boats and coasting-vessels. That, however, is no great object in Japanese estimation.

But if such a law was passed since the system of seclusion has been adopted, it is not a little startling to read in the extracts given by Dr. von Siebold, from Japanese books, that a similar law was promulgated by a Mikado, who reigned prior to the Christian era. How is this reconcileable with the accounts found in all our earlier authorities, of the extensive trade carried on by Japan, when first visited by Europeans? Two hypotheses only offer that seem capable of solving the difficulty; either an idiosyncratic tendency to exclusion and seclusion was long overpowered by the commercial spirit, as this progressively developed itself; or the Japanese author, wishing to cast over a regulation which he felt to be both barbarous and absurd, the softening veil of antiquity, has attributed to the son of Heaven who vanished two thousand years ago, a scheme, and a law for effecting it, that never entered the worthy *Mikado's* imagination.

---

* Fischer.

Almost all the Japanese craft are equally calculated for sailing and rowing. The largest are of sixty tons burthen, and have one heavy mast, bearing an immense square sail, with a small mast and sail at the prow. The oars are very long, and not taken out of the water in rowing. The rowers stand to their work, and are said to impel the vessel with extraordinary swiftness. Japanese sailors are generally bold and skilful. The fisheries are very productive, and the fishermen in constant activity, fish being the principal food of the people.

In agriculture, the Japanese are equally diligent and successful. With the exception of the roads, and of the woods required to supply timber and charcoal, hardly a foot of ground, to the very tops of the mountains, is left uncultivated.* Where cattle cannot draw the plough, or upon the steep sides of the hill, men take their place, or substitute manual husbandry. The soil is naturally sterile, but the labour bestowed upon it, aided by judicious and diligent irrigation, and all the manure that can in any way be collected, conquers its natural defects, and is repaid by abundant harvests.

The grain principally cultivated is rice, said to be the best produced in Asia. Barley and wheat are likewise grown—the former for feeding the cattle; the latter is little valued, and chiefly used for cakes and soy. This last is made by fermenting together, under ground, wheat, a peculiar kind of bean, and salt. Beans of all sorts, some other vegetables, and various roots, are sedulously cultivated, as is the mulberry, solely for the sake of the silk-worm; but the silk of Japan is said to be inferior to the Chinese A coarse sugar is obtained from the sap of a tree.

But the grand object of cultivation, next to rice, is the tea-plant. This was introduced into Japan about the beginning of the ninth century, when the Bonze Yeitsin, returning from China, presented the first cup of tea to the *Mikado* Saga. Its consumption is now almost unlimited. To supply this demand, in addition to the large plantations, where it is grown and prepared for sale, every hedge, upon every farm, consists of the tea-plant, and furnishes the drink of the farmer's family and labourers. The finer sort of tea requires especial care in the cultivation.* The plantations are situated remote from the habitations of man, and as much as may be from all other crops, lest the delicacy of the tea should suffer from smoke, impurity, or emanations of any kind. They are manured with dried anchovies and a liquor pressed out of mustard-seed. They must enjoy the unobstructed beams of the morning sun, and thrive best upon well-watered hill sides. The plant is pollarded to render it more branchy, and therefore more productive, and must be five years old before the leaves are gathered.

---

* Meylan.

The process of harvesting the tea, or rather of storing the harvest, is one of extreme nicety. The leaves are sorted for the finer and coarser teas, as they are plucked; and no more of either kind are gathered in a day than can be dried before night. There are two modes of drying, called the dry and the wet process. In the one, the leaves are at once roasted in an iron pan, then thrown upon a mat and rolled by hand; during the whole operation, which is repeated five or six times, or till the leaves are quite dry, a yellow juice exudes: this is called the dry preparation. In the wet process, the leaves are first placed in a vessel over the steam of boiling water, where they remain till they are withered; they are then rolled by hand, and dried in the iron roasting-pan. When thus prepared, less of the yellow juice exuding, the leaves retain a brighter green colour, and more of their narcotic quality. Hence Dr. Siebold conjectures, that all black and green tea differ solely, from the mode of drying the leaves, but without the deleterious use of copper, as commonly suspected. The peculiar action of green tea upon the nerves he ascribes wholly to the quantity and quality of its own yellow juice retained in the wet process. Yet it must be remembered, that Linnæus held them to be of two distinct plants; and that in the best European botanical gardens—*e.g.* at this moment at Leyden, where Dr. Siebold resides—two distinct plants, with somewhat differently shaped leaves, are shown as the black and the green tea plants. To return to Japan. When fresh dried, the tea is delicately susceptible of all extraneous odours, and requires to be carefully guarded from their influence.

---

* Siebold.

Ere quitting this subject, a few words must be said of Japanese gardeners, although their horticultural skill should rather entitle them to rank amongst the artists or artificers than the agriculturists. These gardeners value themselves alike upon the art of dwarfing, and that of as unnaturally enlarging all natural productions. They exhibit, in the miniature gardens of the towns, full-grown trees of various kinds three feet high, with heads three feet in diameter. These dwarf-trees are reared in flower-pots, as alluded to in one of the poems given in a former chapter; and when they bear luxuriant branches upon a distorted stem, the very *acmé* of perfection is attained; or, to speak more correctly, it might be supposed attained, had not President Meylan, in the year 1826, seen a box, which he describes as one inch in diameter by three inches high, but which Fischer represents, somewhat less incredibly, as four inches long, one and a half wide, and six high, in which were actually growing and thriving a bamboo, a fir, and a plum-tree, the latter in full blossom. The price of this portable grove was 1,200 Dutch gulden, or about 100*l.*

As examples of the success of these horticulturists in the opposite branch of their art, Meylan describes plum-trees covered with blossoms, each blossom four times the size of the cabbage-rose—of course, not producing fruit, which the Japanese appear not greatly to value—and of radishes weighing from fifty to sixty pounds; radishes of fifteen pounds weight he speaks of as of common occurrence. This *gigantifying* art, to coin a word, is more beneficially applied to fir-trees: many of these growing in the grounds of temples are represented as extraordinarily large.

No dimensions of trunks are stated, but we are told that the branches springing at the height of seven or eight feet are led out, sometimes across ponds, and supported upon props, to such a length, that they give a shade of three hundred feet in diameter.

It may here be added that Japan is said to abound in cedar trees, which rival in magnitude the far-famed cedars of Lebanon.

The empire contains neither sheep, goats, swine nor asses. The universal cultivation affords little room for wild animals; deer however are found there, venison being the meat most used at the Japanese table; and so are foxes, which are considered as emblems, if not incarnations of the Evil Principle, and sedulously destroyed.

CHAPTER XIII.

RELIGION OF JAPAN.

Sinsyu.—Cosmogony.—Celestial and terrestrial gods.—Temples.—No idols.—Future state.—Precepts.—Impurity.—Purification.—Form of worship.—Priests.—Pilgrimages.—Orders of the blind.—Their romantic origin.—Sects.—Buddhism.—Its introduction.—Acts by which established.—Letter from the Corean prince.—Tumult by Anti-Buddhist's.—Buddhism blended with *Sinsyu.*—*Siutoo.*—Consequences of the aversion to Christianity.—Present state of the three religions.—Strange story of a former fourth religion resembling Christianity.

The history of Japan is, in its commencement at least, so intimately connected with the religion of the country, that, in the little here intended to be said of either, the latter seems naturally to take precedence of the former.

The original national religion of Japan is denominated *Sinsyu,* from the words *sin* (the gods) and *syu* (faith); and its votaries are called *Sintoos.* Such, at least, is the general interpretation; but

Dr. von Siebold asserts the proper indigenous name of this religion to be *Kami-no-mitsi,* meaning, 'the way of the *kami,*' or gods, which the Chinese having translated into *Shin-tao* the Japanese subsequently adopted that appellation, merely modifying it into *Sintoo.*

The Sintoo mythology and cosmogony, being as extravagantly absurd as those of most oriental nations, possess little claim to notice, except in such points as are essential to the history of Japan and the supremacy of the *mikado.*

From* primæval chaos, according to the Japanese, arose a self-created supreme god, throned in the highest heaven—as is implied by his somewhat long-winded name of *Ameno-mi-naka-nusimo-kami*—and far too great to have his tranquillity disturbed by any cares whatever. Next arose two creator gods, who fashioned the universe out of chaos, but seem to have stopped short of this planet of ours, leaving it still in a chaotic state. The universe was then governed for some myriads of years by seven successive gods, with equally long names, but collectively called the celestial gods. To the last of these, Iza-na-gi-mikoto, the only one who married, (though all his six predecessors had female partners of their state, as sisters rather than wives), the earth owes its existence. He once upon a time thus addressed his consort, Iza-na-mi-mikoto: "There should be somewhere a habitable earth; let us seek it under the waters that are boiling beneath us." He dipt his jewelled spear into the water, and the turbid drops that trickled from the weapon, as he withdrew it, congealing, formed an island. This island, it should seem, was Kiusiu, the largest of the eight that then constituted the world, *alias* Japan. Iza-na-gi-mikoto next called eight millions of gods into existence, created 'the ten thousand things' (*yorod-su-no-mono*), and then committed the government of the whole to his favourite and best child, his daughter, the sun-goddess, known by the three different names of Ama-terasu-oho-kami, Oo-hiru-meno-mikoto, and Ten-sio-dai-zin, which last is chiefly given her in her connexion with Japan.

---

* Siebold; the authority for nearly the whole of this chapter.

With the sovereignty of Ten-sio-dai-zin began a new epoch. She reigned, instead of myriads, only about 250,000 years, and was followed by four more gods, or demi-gods, who, in succession governed the world 2,091,042 years. These are the terrestrial gods; and the last of them, having married a mortal wife, left a mortal son upon earth, named Zin-mu-ten-wou, the immediate ancestor of the *mikados*.

But of all these high and puissant gods, although so essentially belonging to Sintoo mythology, none seem to be objects of worship except Ten-sio-dai-zin, and she, though the especial patron deity of Japan, is too great to be addressed in prayer, save through the mediation of the *kami*, or of her descendant, the *mikado*. The *kami*, again, are divided into superior and inferior, 492 being born gods, or perhaps spirits, and 2,640 being deified or canonized men. They are all mediatory spirits. To them temples are consecrated, and they are the annual visitors of the Mikado.*

But with divinities thus numerous, the Sintoos are no idolaters. Their temples are unpolluted by idols, and the only incentives to devotion they contain, are a mirror, the emblem of the soul's perfect purity, and what is called a *gohei*, consisting of many strips of white paper, which, according to some writers, are blank, and merely another emblem of purity; according to others, are inscribed with moral and religious sentences. The temples possess, indeed, images of the *kami* to whom they are especially dedicated, but those images are not set up to be worshipped; they are kept, with their temple treasures, in some secret receptacle, and only exhibited upon particular festivals. Private families are said to have images of their patron *kami* in shrines and chapels adjoining the verandah of the temple they frequent; but Meylan avers that every *yasiro* and *miya* is dedicated solely to the one Supreme God, and Siebold considers every image as a corrupt innovation. He seems to think that in genuine *Sinsyu*, Ten-sio-dai-zin alone is or was worshipped, the *kami* being analogous to Catholic saints, and that of these no images existed prior to the introduction of the Buddhist idolatry.

---

* See Chapter VI.

There is, as there was likely to be, some confusion in the statements of different writers upon the whole of this topic; amongst others, respecting the Sintoo views of a future state, of which Dr. von Siebold, upon whom the most reliance must ever be placed, gives the following account: "The Sintooist has a vague notion of the soul's immortality; of an eternal future state of happiness or misery, as the reward respectively of virtue or vice; of separate places whither the soul goes after death. Heavenly judges call each to account. To the good is allotted Paradise, and they enter the realm of the *kami*. The wicked are condemned, and thrust into hell."

The duties enjoined by *Sinsyu*,* the practice of which is to insure happiness here and hereafter, (happiness here, meaning a happy frame of mind) are five. 1st. Preservation of pure fire, as the emblem of purity, and instrument of purification. 2d. Purity of soul, heart, and body, to be preserved; in the former, by obedience to the dictates of reason and the law; in the latter, by abstinence from whatever defiles. 3d. Observance of festival days. 4th. Pilgrimages. 5th. The worship of the *kami*, both in the temples and at home.

---

* Siebold.

The impurity to be sedulously avoided is contracted in various ways: by associating with the impure; by hearing obscene, wicked, or brutal language; by eating of certain meats; and also by contact with blood and with death. Hence, if a workman wound himself in building a temple, he is dismissed as impure, and in some instances the sacred edifice has been pulled down and begun anew. The impurity is greater or less—that is to say, of longer or shorter duration,—according to its source; and the longest of all is occasioned by the death of a near relation. During impurity, access to a temple, and most acts of religion, are forbidden, and the head must be covered, that the sun's beams may not be defiled by falling upon it.

But purity is not recovered by the mere lapse of the specified time. A course of purification must be gone through, consisting chiefly in fasting, prayer, and the study of edifying books in solitude. Thus is the period of mourning for the dead to be passed. Dwellings are purified by fire. The purified person throws aside the white mourning dress, worn during impurity, and returns to society in a festal garb.

The numerous Sintoo festivals have been already alluded to; and it may suffice to add, that all begin with a visit to the temple, sometimes to one specially appointed for the day. Upon approaching, the worshipper, in his dress of ceremony, performs his ablutions at a reservoir provided for the purpose; he then kneels in the verandah, opposite a grated window, through which he gazes at the mirror; then offers up his prayers, together with a sacrifice of rice, fruit, tea, *sakee*, or the like; and when he has concluded his orisons, depositing money in a box, he withdraws. The remainder of the day he spends as he pleases, except when appropriate sports belong to it. This is the common form of *kami* worship at the temples, which are not to be approached with a sorrowful spirit, lest sympathy should disturb the happiness of the gods. At home, prayer is similarly offered before the domestic house-oratory and garden-*miya;* and prayer precedes every meal.

The money contributions, deposited by the worshippers, are destined for the support of the priests belonging to the temple. The Sintoo priests are called *kaminusi*, or the landlords of the gods; and in conformity with their name, they reside in houses built within the grounds of their respective temples, where they receive strangers very hospitably. The *kaminusi* marry, and their wives are the priestesses, to whom specific religious rites and duties are allotted; as, for instance, the ceremony of naming children, already described.

But pilgrimage is the grand act of Sintoo devotion, and there are in the empire two-and-twenty shrines commanding such homage; one of these is, however, so much more sacred than the rest, that of it alone is there any occasion to speak. This shrine is the temple of Ten-sio-dai-zin, at Isye, conceived by the great body of ignorant and bigoted devotees to be the original temple, if not the birth-place of the sun-goddess. To make this Isye pilgrimage, at least once, is imperatively incumbent upon man, woman, and child, of every rank, and, it might almost be said, of every religion, since even of professed Buddhists, only the bonzes ever exempt themselves from this duty. The pious repeat it annually. The *ziogoon*, who has upon economical grounds been permitted, as have some of the greater princes, to perform this great act of devotion vicariously, sends a yearly embassy of pilgrims to Isye. Of course, the majority of the pilgrims journey thither as conveniently as their circumstances admit; but the most approved and sanctifying mode is to make the pilgrimage on foot, and as a mendicant, carrying a mat on which to sleep, and a wooden ladle with which to drink. The greater the hardships endured, the greater the merit of the voluntary mendicant.

It need hardly be said that no person in a state of impurity may undertake this, or indeed any pilgrimage; and that all risk of impurity must be studiously avoided during its continuance; and this is thought to be the main reason why the Buddhist priests are exempt from a duty of compliance with *Sinsyu*, enjoined to their flocks. The bonzes from their attendance upon the dying and the dead, are, in Sintoo estimation, in an almost uninterrupted state of impurity. But for the Isye pilgrimage, even the pure prepare by a course of purification. Nay, the contamination of the dwelling of the absent pilgrim would, it is conceived, be attended with disastrous consequences; the purity of his vacant abode is therefore guarded by affixing a piece of white paper over the door, as a warning to the impure to avoid defiling the place.

Upon reaching the hallowed shrine, every pilgrim applies to a priest to guide him through the course of devotional exercises, that he has come so far to perform. When many and the various prescribed rites and prayers in the Isye temple itself, and its subsidiary *miyas* are completed, the pilgrim receives from the priest who has acted as his especial director upon the occasion, a written absolution of all his past sins, and makes him a present proportioned to his own station. This absolution called the *oho-haraki*, is ceremoniously carried home, and displayed in the absolved pilgrim's house. And from the importance of holding a recent absolution at the close of life, arises the necessity of frequently repeating the pilgrimage. Among the Isye priestesses, there is almost always one of the daughters of a *mikado.*

The Isye temple is a peculiarly plain, humble, and unpretending structure, and really of great antiquity, though not quite equal to that which is ascribed to it. It is surrounded by a vast number of inferior *miyas.* The whole town is occupied by priests, and persons connected with the temple, and depending upon the concourse of pilgrims for their support. The poorer pilgrims are supported by charity during their sojourn.

In addition to the *kaminusi,* who constitute the regular clergy of Japan, there are two institutions of the blind, which are called religious orders, although the members of one of them are said to support themselves chiefly by their skill in music —even furnishing the usual orchestra at the theatres. The incidents to which the foundation of these two blind fraternities is severally referred, are too romantic, and one is too thoroughly Japanese, to be omitted.

The origin of the first, the *Bussatz sato,* is, indeed, purely sentimental. This fraternity was instituted, we are told, very many centuries ago, by Senmimar, the younger son of a *mikado*, and the handsomest of living men, in commemoration of his having wept himself blind for the loss of his princess, whose beauty equalled his own. These *Bussatz sato* had existed for ages, when, in the course of civil war, the celebrated Yoritomo (of whom more will be said in the next chapter), at the head of the *mikado's* troops, defeated his antagonist, the rebel Prince Feki (who fell in the battle), and took his general, Kakekigo, prisoner. This general's renown was great throughout Japan, and earnestly did the conqueror strive to gain his captive's friendship; he loaded him with kindness, and finally offered him his liberty. Kakekigo replied, "I can love none but my slain master. I owe you gratitude; but you caused Prince Feki's death, and never can I look upon you without wishing to kill you. My best way to avoid such ingratitude, and to reconcile my conflicting duties, is never to see you more; and thus do I insure it." As he spoke, he tore out his eyes and presented them to Yoritomo on a salver. The prince, struck with admiration, released him; and Kakekigo withdrew into retirement, where he founded the second order of the blind, the *Fekisado*.

The superiors of these orders reside at Miyako, and appear to be subject alike to the *mikado* and to the temple lords at Yedo.

Sinsyu is now divided into two principal sects. Of these, the *Yuitz* profess themselves strictly orthodox, admitting of no innovation; they are said to be few in number, and consist almost exclusively of the *kaminusi;* but Siebold doubts whether even their *Sinsyu* is quite pure. The other, the *Rioboo-Sintoo,* meaning two-sided *kami* worship, which might perhaps be better Englished Eclectic *Sinsyu,* and is much modified, comprises the great body of *Sintoos.* The manner and nature of this modification will be more intelligible after one of the co-existent religions—namely, Buddhism—shall have been spoken of.

It might have been anticipated that a religion, upon which is thus essentially founded the sovereignty of the country, must for ever remain the intolerant, exclusive faith of Japan, unless superseded for the express purpose of openly and avowedly deposing the Son of Heaven. But two other religions co-exist, and have long co-existed, there with *Sinsyu.*

The first and chief of these is Buddhism, the most widely diffused of all false creeds, as appears by an authentic estimate of the respective followers of the chief of them, in which we find 252,000,000 Mahometans, 111,000,000 believers in Brahma, and 315,000,000 Buddhists. A very few words concerning this creed may suffice to explain its co-existence and actual blending with *Sinsyu.*

Buddhism does not claim the antiquity, the cosmogonic dignity, or the self-creative origin of *Sinsyu.* Its founder, Sakya Sinha—called Syaka in Japan—was not a god, but a man, who, by his virtues and austerities, attained to divine honours, was then named Buddha, or the Sage, and founded a religion. His birth is placed at the earliest 2420, and at the latest 543 years before the Christian era. Since his death and deification, Buddha is supposed to have been incarnate in some of his principal disciples, who are, like himself, deified and worshipped, in subordination, however, to the Supreme God, Buddha Amida. Buddhism is essentially idolatrous;* in other respects, its tenets and precepts, differ from those of *Sinsyu,* chiefly by the doctrine of Metempsychosis, whence the prohibition to take animal life, the theory of a future state, placing happiness in absorption into the divine essence, and punishment in the prolongation of individuality by revivification in man or the inferior animals; and by making the priesthood a distinct order in the state, bound to celibacy.

The Buddhist somewhat hyper-philosophic theory of heaven does not appear to have been taught in Japan; and in the rest there is evidently nothing very incompatible with *Sinsyu.* The first introduction, or rather the final introduction and actual establishment of Buddhism in Japan, is somewhat differently related by Klaproth and Siebold, by both upon the authority of Japanese works; and both accounts must therefore be recorded. According to the first, the Buddhist Bonze who, after it had for five hundred years failed to gain a footing, established his faith in Japan A.D. 552, skilfully obviated objections, and enlisted national prejudices on his side. He represented either Ten-sio-dai-zin—as having been an *avatar*, or incarnation of Amida, or Buddha of Ten-sio-dai-zin—which of the two does not seem certain—and a young boy, the eldest son of the reigning *mikado's* eldest son, as an *avatar* of some patron god. This flattering announcement obtained him the training of the boy, who, as a man, refused to accept the dignity of *mikado*, although he took an active part in the government of his aunt, raised subsequently to that dignity. He founded several Buddhist temples, and died a Bonze in the principal of these temples.

---

* See Note XXII.

Siebold gives in the second account, the following extract from a native historian:—"In 552, Sehing-ming-whang, king of Petsi (a Corean state, then the dependent ally of Japan), sent to the *Daïri* a bronze image of Sakya Buddha, with flags, books, &c., and the following letter:—

'This doctrine is the best of any. It reveals what was a riddle and a mystery even to Kung-Foo-tse. It promises us happiness and retribution immeasurable and boundless, and finally makes of us an unsurpassable Buddhi. It is, to use a simile, a treasure containing all that the human heart desires, affording all that is for our good. And this treasure possesses a twofold value, because it so completely adapts itself to the nature of our soul. Pray, or make vows, according to the disposition of your mind, you will want for nothing. The doctrine came to us from further India. The king of Petsi imparts it to the realm of the *mikado*, in order that it may be there diffused, and that which is written in the book of Buddha be fulfilled: 'My doctrine shall spread towards the east.'

"That very day the *mikado* asked his minister, whether the image of Buddha should or should not be worshipped? Imame answered, 'All western nations have so worshipped; why should we turn our back upon him?' But his colleague Mononabeno objected, saying, 'The native sovereigns of this realm have made it their business to celebrate the spring, the summer, the autumn, and the winter festivals of one hundred and eighty *kamis* of heaven and of earth, of provinces and of families. If we now introduce innovations, worshipping a foreign *kami*, it is to be feared that we may anger our compatriot divinities.' 'Then,' said the *mikado*, 'it is right to do that which in his heart a man thinks right. Let Imame then worship the image.'

"Imame took the image, and built it a chapel. Soon afterwards an epidemic disease broke out, and this new worship being considered as a proof of the *kami's* displeasure at the new worship, its extirpation was resolved upon. Imame's chapel was reduced to ashes, and the image thrown into the river. Buddhism, which had thus announced itself in Japan, did not gain a firm footing there until it again sought admittance some thirty years later."

Upon this second occasion, A.D. 584, some Japanese travellers or traders brought two images of Sakya Buddha from Petsi, which the minister Mumako, the son of Imame, and as zealous a Buddhist as his father, begged of the reigning *mikado* Sinzyun. The monarch was himself a *Sintooist* or philosopher (this sect is next to be described), but he likewise permitted his minister to take his own course as to religion. The people were less complaisant. Again the temple was burnt; it was rebuilt, and a civil war ensued, during the continuance of which the *mikado* was murdered by the hired tools of his ungrateful minister. The crime appears to have been successful, for the Buddhists prevailed, and from this epoch certainly Buddhism became the second established religion of Japan.

When this was effected, Buddhism gradually, though not slowly, became blended with, thereby modifying, *Sinsyu*; and thus was the second sect, called *Rioboo-Sinsyu* formed. There are many other sects in which, on the other hand, Buddhism is modified by *Sinsyu*; and these varieties have probably given rise to the inconsistencies and contradictions that frequently occur in the different accounts of *Sinsyu*; although it must be recollected that religion is a subject upon which foreigners must be peculiarly liable to mistake and misinformation. Further, Buddhism itself is, in Japan, said to be divided into a high and pure mystic creed for the learned, and a gross idolatry for the vulgar. The *Yamaboesi* hermits are Buddhist monks, of one of the mixed sects, although, like the priests of the *Ikkosyu*, allowed to marry and to eat animal food.

The third Japanese religion is called *Siutoo*, meaning "the way of philosophers;" and, although by all writers designated as a religion, far more resembles a philosophic sect, compatible with almost any faith, true or false. It consists merely of the moral doctrines taught by the Chinese Kung-foo-tse (Confucius), and of some mystic notions touching the human soul—not very dissimilar to those of high Buddhism—totally unconnected with any mythology or any religious rites.

Siutoo is said to have been not only adopted, immediately upon its introduction into Japan, by the wise and learned, but openly professed, accompanied by the rejection of *Sinsyu* mythology and worship, and by utter scorn for Buddhist idolatry. But when the detestation of Christianity arose, some suspicions appear to have been conceived of *Siutoo*, as tending that way. Buddhism was, on the contrary, especially favoured, as a sort of bulwark against Christianity; and thenceforward every Japanese was required to have an idol in his house—some say a Buddhist idol; others the image of his patron *kami*. The last is the more probable view, as Dr. von Siebold distinctly states that, at the present day, the lower orders are Buddhists; the higher orders, especially the wisest among them, secretly *Siutooists*, professing and respecting *Sinsyu*, avowedly despising Buddhism; and all, *Siutooists* and Buddhists alike, nominally *Sintoos*.

Such is said to be the present state of religion in Japan. But the subject must not be closed without mentioning a story told by President Meylan, of a fourth religion, co-existing with these three, prior to the arrival of the first Christian missionaries. He says that about A.D. 50, a Brahminical sect was introduced into Japan, the doctrines of which were, the redemption of the world by the son of a virgin, who died to expiate the sins of men, thus insuring to them a joyful resurrection; and a trinity of immaterial persons, constituting one eternal, omnipresent, omnipotent God, the Creator of all, to be adored as the source of all good and goodness.

The name of a Brahminical sect given to this faith cannot exclude the idea, as we read its tenets, that Christianity might even thus early have reached Japan; which is certainly possible, through India. But it is to be observed, that neither Dr. von Siebold, nor any other writer, except Meylan, names this religion; that Fischer, in his account of Japanese Buddhism, states that the qualities of a beneficent Creator are ascribed to Amida, and relates much, as recorded of the life of Syaka, strangely resembling the gospel history of our Saviour, whilst the date assigned to the introduction of this supposed Brahminical sect pretty accurately coincides with that of the first unsuccessful attempt to introduce Buddhism. Further, and lastly, whoever has read any thing of Hindu mythology, must be well aware that the legends of the Brahmins afford much which may easily be turned into seemingly Christian doctrine. But whatever it were, this faith was too like Christianity to survive its fall, and has long since completely vanished.

CHAPTER XIV.

HISTORY OF JAPAN.

Name.—Zin-mu-ten-woo, first *Mikado*.—Decline of the *Mikado's* power.—Civil war.—Yoritomo.—His success.—He restores the nominal power of the *Mikado*.—Yoritomo *Ziogoon*.—Ziogoonship becomes hereditary.—Quarrel with Mongols.—War.—Slaughter of ambassadors.—Peace.—Arrival of the Portuguese.—Success of the Jesuits.—Contentions for the Ziogoonship.—Nobunaga.—Taykosame.—Favourite Japanese hero.—His measures of policy.—Death.—Usurpation of Iyeyas.—Persecution of Christians.—Adoption of the present exclusive system.—Iyeyas, deified as Gongen-sama, the founder of the reigning dynasty of *Ziogoon*.

Of the history of Japan, it is needless to trouble the reader with more than the few and far distant events out of which has grown, and upon which is based, the present condition of that empire of 3,850 islands, including uninhabitable rocks.

This may, however, be not inappositely introduced by a few words touching the name, which in Japanese is *Dai Nippon*, or 'Great Nippon'—a name of prodigious dignity, and referring probably to the patronage, if not the birth, of the sun-goddess; the word *nitsu* signifying 'the sun,' and *pon*, or *fon*, 'origin;' and these, when compounded according to the Japanese rule, become Nippon, or Nifon. The largest island, upon which stands the Isye temple, be it remembered, bears the simple name of Nippon, without the *dai*, or 'great;' and hence it might be inferred that Nippon was the island originally fished up by the Iza-no-gi-mikoto, rather than the smaller and less holy Kiusiu; an idea which is somewhat confirmed, both by the Isye temple being in Nippon, and by the information that Kiusiu remained independent of the Mikados for nearly a hundred years after our era, and was not completely subjugated by them until the close of the second century. The husband of the deified amazon Singon-Kwo-gon, fell in the last war against Kiusiu, and it was the alliance between that island and Corea, that compelled his widow to the conquest of the peninsula. The name *Japan** is derived from the Chinese form of Nippon, *Jĭhpun*, 'origin of the sun.' Marco Polo calls the country *Zipangu* (not *Zipangri*, as most editions of his work have it), which is another European corruption of the Chinese denomination *Jĭh-pun-kwŏ*, or 'kingdom of the origin of the sun.'

The mythological or legendary portion of Japanese history has been sufficiently explained in the preceding chapter, though it may be added, that the whole nation claims a descent from the *kami*—and only what is deemed authentic history need be adverted to here.

---

* Klaproth.

The authentic history of Japan began with the first mortal ruler, Zin-mu-ten-woo, whose name imports the 'Divine Conqueror.' Accordingly, Zin-mu-ten-woo did, it is said, conquer Nippon; and having done so, he there built him a *dairi*, or temple-palace, dedicated to the sun-goddess, and founded the sovereignty of the *mikados*. Whatever were his own origin—whether he was a son of the last terrestrial god, hereditary monarch of Kiusiu, (in which case the separation of the islands must have occurred in some subsequent civil war,) or, as Klaproth thinks, a Chinese warrior and invader—from him the *mikados*, even to this day, descend. His establishment in the absolute sovereignty of Dai Nippon is generally placed in the year 660 B.C.

For some centuries, the *mikados*, claiming to rule by divine right and inheritance, were indeed despotic sovereigns; and even after they had ceased to head their own armies, and intrusted the dangerous military command to sons and kinsmen, their power long remained undisputed and uncontrolled. It was, perhaps, first and gradually weakened by a habit into which the *mikados* fell, of abdicating at so early an age, that they transferred the sovereignty to their sons while yet children; the consequent evils of a minority, the retired sovereign frequently strove to remedy, by governing for his young successor.

At length, a *mikado*, who had married the daughter of a powerful prince, abdicated in favour of his three-year-old son; and the ambitious grandfather of the infant *mikado* assumed the regency, placing the abdicated sovereign in confinement. A civil war ensued; during which, Yoritomo, one of the most celebrated and most important persons in Japanese history—who has been already incidentally mentioned, and was, seemingly a distant scion of the *mikado* stock—first appeared upon the stage. He came forward as the champion of the imprisoned ex-*mikado* against his usurping father-in-law.* The war lasted for several years, and in the course of those years occurred the incident in which originated the second of the institutions of the blind. At length, Yoritomo triumphed, released the imprisoned father of the young *mikado*, and placed the regency in his hands; but the *fowo*, as he was called, held it only nominally, leaving the real power in the hands of Yoritomo, whom he created *sio i dai ziogoon*, or 'generalissimo fighting against the barbarians.' The ex-*mikado* died, and, as lieutenant or deputy of the sovereign, Yoritomo virtually governed for twenty years. His power gradually acquired solidity and stability, and when he died he was succeeded in his title, dignity, and authority, by his son.

---

* Klaproth's and Titsingh's Japanese Annals of the Dairi.

After this, a succession of infant *mikados* strengthened the power of the *ziogoons*, and their office soon became so decidedly hereditary, that the Annals begin to tell of abdicating *ziogoons*, of infant *ziogoons*, of rival heirs contending for the *ziogoonship*. Even during the life of Yoritomo's widow, this had advanced so far, that she, who had become a Buddhist nun upon his decease, returned from her convent to govern for an infant *ziogoon*. She retained the authority till her own death, and is called in the Annals of the *Dairi*, the *Ama Ziogoon*, or 'Nun *Ziogoon*.' She seems to be the only instance of a female *ziogoon*. But still, if the actual authority were wielded by these generalissimos, all the apparent and much real power—amongst the rest, that of appointing or confirming his nominal vicegerent, the *ziogoon*—remained with the *mikado*. In this state, administered by an autocrat emperor and a sovereign deputy, the government of Japan continued until the latter half of the sixteenth century, the *ziogoons* being then efficient and active rulers, not the secluded and magnificent puppets of a council of state that we have seen them at the present day.*

---

* See Chapter VIII.

During this phasis of the Japanese empire nothing occurred tending to produce political changes, or to give birth to the actual state of the government, unless the imperceptible growth of the power of the *ziogoons* be so considered. Two incidents of this period, however, invite our attention. One of them, the last in point of time, is the arrival of the Portuguese; the other, which preceded it by some centuries, the war with the Mongols, is in three different respects, worthy of notice: first, it is the only recorded attempt at invading Japan; secondly, it involves the first recorded authorized number of ambassadors; and thirdly, Siebold gives the account of the quarrel and the war in extracts from one very old, and one more recent Japanese annalist, and from an encyclopedia. These various accounts, differing in some minute particulars, it seems best to blend into a continuous narrative, without pausing to inquire the precise portion belonging to each.

"Kublai Khan had no sooner ascended the Mongol throne, than he turned his eyes upon distant Nippon, and resolved that, like Kaou-le, (one of the petty Corean kingdoms) it must become a vassal state of his mighty and growing empire. In 1268, he called upon the sovereign of Nippon to form an alliance professedly of offence and defence with him. His invitation was given in the following letter.

'The exalted Emperor of the Mongols to the *Wang* (king) of Nippon.

'I am the prince of a formerly small state, to which the adjacent lands have united themselves, and my endeavour is to make inviolable truth and friendship reign amongst us. What is more, my ancestors have, in virtue of their splendid warrant from Heaven, taken possession of Hia dominions. The number of the distant countries, of the remote cities, that fear our power and love our virtue, passes computation.

'When I ascended the throne, the harmless people of Kaou-le were suffering under the calamities of war. I immediately ordered a cessation of hostilities, recalling the troops from beyond the frontiers to the encampment of their colours. The Prince of Kaoli and his subjects appeared at my court to give me thanks, and I treated them kindly, as a father treats his children. So I intend that your servants shall be treated. Kaou-le is my eastern frontier; Nippon lies near, and has from the beginning held intercourse with the Central Empire. But during my reign, [China was at this period in great part but not wholly subjugated by the Mongols] not a single envoy has appeared to open a friendly intercourse with me. I apprehend that the state of things is not, as yet, well known in your country, wherefore I send envoys with a letter, to make you acquainted with my views, and I hope we may understand each other. Already philosophers desire to see the whole world form one family. But how may this one-family principle be carried into effect if friendly intercourse subsist not between the parties? I am resolved to call this principle into existence, even should I be obliged to do so by force of arms. It is now the business of the *Wang* of Nippon to decide what course is most agreeable to him.' "

This letter, the last sentences of which indicate the absolute filial obedience, both active and passive, that Kublai Khan intended his one universal family to render to its head, himself, appears to have caused much perplexity in Japan, inasmuch as the *Ziogoon* sent it to the *Mikado,* and both potentates deliberated with their respective councils, upon the answer proper to be returned. Or shall it be assumed that this reference was merely one of the ceremonious observances due to the 'Son of Heaven?' Shall it be inferred, from this and the similar proceeding in the case of the Russians,* that the sovereign by right divine, the representative of the Sun Goddess, *must* give his sanction to any step that may possibly provoke war? Be this as it may, the *Mikado* caused an answer to be prepared, the tenor of which is not stated; but the *Ziogoon* deemed silent contempt the more becoming or, as the Mongol Emperor said, the most agreeable course, and it was adopted. The envoys, who had not been permitted to visit either court, were dismissed without any answer, by the Governor of Daisaifu; and two other missions, sent by Kublai Khan in the year 1271 and 1273, were treated with similar contumely. The haughty as ambitious conqueror would not be thus treated with impunity, and in 1274 a Mongol-Chinese fleet, with a Kaou-le contingent, appeared off the island of Tsuzima. But the preceding correspondence (if, being all on one side, such it may be called) had given Japan due notice, and the *Ziogoon* had ordered every requisite measure of defence along the coast, whilst the *Mikado,* upon the tidings of an enemy's approach, appointed general prayer days to implore the aid and protection of the gods. The oldest of the Japanese annalists says, that the hostile leaders ventured not upon a serious attack, but, after hovering awhile about the well defended coast without any apparent purpose, retreated, committing what ravages they conveniently could in Kiusiu. But the other two authorities cited assert that a battle was fought either in Tsuzima or off Iki, in which the Mongols were repulsed, if not absolutely defeated; and that one main cause of their final defeat was their having expended their whole stock of arrows.

---

* See Chapter X.

Either way the attempt had exasperated the not very placable temper of the Japanese, and subsequent Mongol missions suffered accordingly, not however, it must be confessed, without due warning. In 1275 envoys from Kublai Khan again presented themselves in Japan, and instead of being, as before, contemptuously dismissed by a governor, were immediately ordered to Kamakura, at that time the residence of the *Ziogoon*. They were admitted to his presence, but only to hear him pronounce a sentence of exile against themselves, or more properly against all their countrymen. It ran thus: 'Henceforward no Mongol subject shall set foot upon the soil of *Daï Nippon*, under pain of death.' In virtue of this law, the next two embassies, sent in the years 1276 and 1279, were to a man beheaded.

But no sooner had the Mongol Emperor achieved the complete subjugation of China A. D. 1280, than he prepared to take vengeance upon the contumacy of Japan. Accordingly, the following year, he equipped a new armament to invade and subdue the refractory realm. In the 5th month, the Kaou-le-Chinese fleet, with an hundred thousand soldiers on board, appeared off Firato, and steered for Iki. There, as in Tsukusi, the measures for defence were not less vigorous, the Japanese not less stout, the public prayers, ordered by the *Mikado*, not less fervent or general than before, and again the Mongols hesitated to attack seriously; the reason of which, according to the later authorities, was the illness of the commander. This time the elements fought for the Japanese, leaving to their valour only the inglorious work of the executioner. On the 1st of the 8th month, a hurricane arose that scattered the fleet, dashing great numbers of vessels upon that rocky and dangerous coast. The troops and crews sought refuge on shore, where three days afterwards those men, seemingly formidable from their numbers, but mostly without arms, and broken spirited with hunger and fatigue, were, after a very short struggle, slaughtered, or made prisoners. The latter amounting to thirty thousand, were taken to Fakota, and there put to the sword. Three individuals only were spared, and that not in mercy, but in order that they might report to Kublai Khan the fate of his armament, and the inexorable justice with which the law was administered in Daï Nippon.

During the continuance of the Mongol domination over China and the adjacent states, Japan strictly prohibited all and any intercourse with all those states, rigorously enforcing the law of proscription denounced against the subjects of the Mongols. Upon the downfall of the barbarian conquerors some hundred years later, she made peace with the restored dynasty of the central empire, and afterwards, by their mediation, with Corea. With both countries the intercourse, commercial and other, was replaced upon its previous footing.

Between two and three hundred years after this threatened invasion, the Portuguese first appeared off Japan; one of their vessels being driven by contrary winds from her intended course, and upon that then unknown coast. The account of this occurrence likewise, Siebold gives in an extract from a national annalist:—"Under the *Mikado* Konaru and the *Ziogoon* Yosi-hao, in the twelfth year of the *Nengo Tenbun*, on the twenty-second day of the eighth month (October 1543), a strange ship made the island Tanega-zima,* near Koura, in the remote province Nisimura. The crew, about two hundred in number, had a singular appearance; their language was unintelligible, their native land unknown. On board was a Chinese, named Go-hou, who understood writing: from him it was gathered that this was a *nan-ban* ship ('southern barbarian,' in the Japanese form of the Chinese words *nan-man*). On the 26th, this vessel was taken to Aku-oki harbour, on the north-west of the island; and Toki-taka, Governor of Tanega-zima, instituted a strict investigation concerning it, the Japanese bonze, Tsyu-syu-zu, acting as interpreter, by means of Chinese characters. On board the *nan-ban* ship were two commanders, Mura-syukya and Krista-moota; they bring fire-arms, and first make the Japanese acquainted with shooting-arms, and the preparation of shooting-powder."

---

* See Note XXIII.

The Japanese have preserved portraits (and curious specimens of the graphic art they are) of Mura-syukya and Krista-moota, who are supposed to be Antonio Mota and Francesco Zeimoto, the first Portuguese known to have landed in Japan.

The Japanese were at this time a mercantile people, carrying on an active and lucrative commerce with, it is said, sixteen different countries. They gladly welcomed the strangers, who brought them new manufactures and new wares; they trafficked freely with them, and ere long even gave their daughters in marriage to such as settled amongst them. The Jesuit missionaries, who soon followed the first visitors, were equally well received, and permitted to preach to the people without interruption. The extraordinary and rapid success of the Fathers, which has been already mentioned, is ascribed, by some writers, to reverence for their superior scientific knowledge, to a desire to profit by the charity they inculcated in the lower orders, and in the higher, to attract the trade of the Portuguese to their dominions. But whatever the cause, even at Miyako, in the vicinity of the *dairi*, if not in it, they boasted neophytes. These bright prospects were blighted by the civil war, which had seemed, for a moment, to promise the complete establishment of Christianity in Japan. Of this war, and its origin, some account must be given.

About the middle of the sixteenth century, two brothers, of the race of Yoritomo, contended for the *ziogoonship*; the princes of the empire took part on either side, or against both, striving to make themselves independent; and domestic hostilities raged throughout Japan. In the course of them, both the rival brothers perished, and the vassal princes now contended for their vacant dignity.

The ablest and mightiest amongst them was Nobunaga, Prince of Owari, the champion of one of the rival brothers so long as he lived. After the death of the claimant, whom he had supported, he set up for himself, and was powerfully aided by the courage and talents of a low-born man, named Hide-yosi, or Fide-yosi, as the name is indiscriminately spelt. But as this person is one of the most remarkable and most admired characters in Japanese history, a few words must be said concerning his rise. His parentage was so obscure, as to have been a controverted question even in his own time. He is reported to have gained the favour of his first master by his skill and economy in fire-making; and when attending this master, in a hunting party of Nobunaga, he attracted the notice of that prince, by boldly and gracefully climbing a tree, that no other durst attempt, to recover a fine hawk entangled on the top by its vervils. He thenceforth attached himself to his service, and gradually gained his confidence. The Prince of Owari triumphed over his opponents, and became *ziogoon,* the *mikado* confirming to the victor a dignity that he felt himself unable to withhold. The new *ziogoon* recompensed Hide-yosi's services by investing him with high military office, and shewed himself a warm friend to the Christians and the missionaries.

In process of time, Nobunaga was murdered in a spot near Miyako, thence called the Imperial Blood Grove,* by an aspirant usurper, who thus possessed himself of the *ziogoonship.* The murderer was shortly afterwards, in his turn, murdered; and, amidst the confusion that ensued, Hide-yosi seized upon the generally coveted office. The *mikado* again, without hesitation, approved and confirmed the conqueror as *ziogoon,* by his newly-assumed name of Tayko, or Tayko-sama (the Lord Tayko).

Tayko retained upon the throne the energies and warlike spirit that had enabled him to ascend it; he has been accused of cruelty, but this seems to have been no more than the reckless severity in punishment natural to the Japanese, and perhaps almost necessary to an usurper. He is still considered by the Japanese as nearly, if not quite, the greatest of their heroes. It was he who made the greatest progress in reducing the *mikado* to the mere shadow of a sovereign; with him originated the system, already described, as inthralling the princes of the empire; he subdued Corea, which had emancipated itself since its conquest by the Empress Sin-gou-kwo-gou; and he had announced his intention of conquering China, when his career was arrested by death, at the age of sixty-three, in the year 1598. Tayko-sama's only son, Hide-yori, was a child of six years old; and to him, upon his death-bed, he thought to secure the succession by marrying him to the grand-daughter of Iyeyas (or as some write it, Yeyeyasou), the powerful Prince of Micava, his own especial friend and counsellor, whom he had rewarded with three additional principalities. He obtained from Iyeyas a solemn promise to procure the recognition of Hide-yori as *ziogoon*, so soon as the boy should have completed his fifteenth year.

---

* Ogilby.

The death of Tayko-sama, leaving so mere an infant as his heir, was the signal for the renewal, by the vassal princes, of their efforts to emancipate themselves from the yoke, nominally of the *mikado*, really of the *ziogoon*; whilst the ambitious and treacherous Iyeyas, who had long aspired to the office he had promised to secure to his grand-daughter's husband, secretly fomented disorders so propitious to his designs. As regent for Hide-yori, he gradually extorted higher and higher titles from the *mikado;* till at length, encouraged by success, he threw off the mask. He now demanded and obtained the dignity of *ziogoon*, and waged open war upon the ward to whom he was bound by so many ties, to whom he had sworn allegiance. Hide-yori was supported by all the Japanese Christians, whose zeal in behalf of the son of the universally admired and regretted Tayko-sama was, to say the least, warmly approved and encouraged by the Jesuits; and the reverend Fathers had good cause to exert themselves strenuously on his side, independently even of any idea of the justice of his cause, since the young prince showed them so much favour, that they actually indulged the flattering hope of seeing him, ere long, openly profess Christianity, and, should he triumph, make it the established religion of Japan.

For a while Hide-yori is said to have lived magnificently, though as a private man, at Ohosaka. But, in 1615, Iyeyas besieged his grandchild's husband in Ohosaka castle, and took this, his rival's last remaining stronghold, as perfidiously, it is said, as he had gained the *ziogoonship*. Over the fate of Hide-yori a veil of mystery hangs. According to some accounts, after setting fire to the castle, when he found it betrayed into his enemy's hands, he perished in the flames; according to others, he effected his escape amidst the confusion caused by the conflagration, and made his way to the principal city of Satzuma, where his posterity is still believed to exist. It is certain that the princes of Satzuma are much courted by the *ziogoons*, who ever seek their daughters as wives. The consort of the present *ziogoon* is a Satzuma princess.

Iyeyas, who in the progress of his usurpation had successively taken the names of Daifoesama and Ongonchio, had now only to secure the *ziogoonship* to himself and his posterity. For this purpose, he confirmed all the measures devised by Tayko-sama for insuring the fidelity of the princes, bestowed many confiscated principalities upon his own partisans and younger sons, and weakened all, as far as he could, by dismemberment. He deprived the *mikado* of even the little power that Tayko-sama had left him, reducing the absolute autocrat to the utter helplessness and complete irremediable dependence, which have been described as the present and actual condition of the Son of Heaven; and, finally, he proceeded to enforce the persecution of his rival's supporters, the native Christians and foreign missionaries, which Siebold decidedly ascribes to political, not religious, motives on the part of the new Japanese potentate; and which, in the reign of his successor, resulted in the system of exclusion and seclusion still followed in Japan. A Portuguese embassy, sent to remonstrate against this exclusion, was put to death like the Mongol embassy in the 13th century; two of the persons only being spared to carry home the tale, as a warning against repeating the offence.

Iyeyas, upon his death, was deified by the *mikado* under the name of Gongen-sama; and his policy has proved successful. His posterity still hold the *ziogoonship* in undisturbed tranquillity; and although evidently so degenerated from the energy and talent of their ancestor, that they have suffered the power to fall from their own hands into that of their ministers, the change is one which they perhaps, unconscious of its real degradation and future evil consequences, feel as gratifying to their pride as to their indolence.

Every writer belonging to the Dutch factory, and therefore possessing the best attainable means of knowledge, affirms that rebellion has been prevented by the inthralment of the princes, and that the empire has, since the quelling of the Arima insurrection, the thorough extirpation of Christianity, and the complete exclusion of foreigners, enjoyed profound peace, internal as well as external. Dr. Parker, in his little journal, tells us, indeed, that he was assured rebellion was every where raging; but when it is considered that he was hostilely driven away, without being suffered even to set foot on shore, little reliance can be placed upon such hearsay information. Were any further change to be anticipated for Japan, it would be, that the hereditary prime minister may play against the *ziogoons* the game they played against the *mikados;* abandon Yedo to the generalissimo, as Miyako is abandoned to the Son of Heaven, and establish elsewhere a third court of the vicegerent's vicegerent, the Governor of the Empire. But of such change open rebellion would hardly be either the instrument or the harbinger. Like the superseding of the *mikados* by the *ziogoons* it would probably be only the gradual development and progress of the existing system.

CHAPTER XV.

INTERCOURSE BETWEEN JAPAN AND CHINA.

Relations between Japan and China. — Chinese assumption of sovereignty.—Corean narrative of a Japanese embassy to China. — Ambassadors' audience. — Treatment. — Chinese visit to Japan.— Japanese literati in China.—Chinese attempts to establish sovereignty over Japan. — Hideyosi's resentment. — War with China in and for Corea.—Peace.—Commercial and friendly intercourse.—Narrative of Japanese traders.—Their capture. — Treatment in Tartary.—At Pekin.—In Corea.—Their remarks.— Return home.—Formalities.

THE relations of Japan with China, although now restricted within the same narrow limits as those with Holland, appear to have long been intimate and active, always, it need hardly be said, characteristic of those two extraordinary countries, but by no means always friendly. The Central Empire, as China is named by Japanese writers, seems from the first to have entertained a thorough conviction of her own superiority, of her right to sovereignty over Daï Nippon, as over all other neighbouring states, whether adjacent or remote; and seldom to have missed a favourable opportunity of advancing and enforcing her pretensions; whilst the high-minded Japanese, who esteem it derogatory to be even compared to the Chinese, acknowledge no inferiority, moral, physical or political, except in their numbers and the superficial extent of their territories. In letters indeed, as in the arts and sciences, they cannot deny that China formerly took precedence of them, inasmuch as the fact, that they originally received all these from China is not only asserted in the annals of that country, but pretty nearly self-evident, and admitted as well by their own old chronicles as by their learned men of the present day. According to Chinese accounts, all civilization was carried to Japan by a somewhat original sort of Chinese colony. The story told is, that in the second century of our era, the lord of the Central Empire, having understood that the herb of immortality grew in Japan, and cherishing an aversion for death, sent thither three thousand boys and girls to seek for and bring home this valuable vegetable drug. But instead of obeying the latter part of their instructions, the whole three thousand settled in Japan, in consequence, it may be suspected, of their inability to find the desired plant, and their dread of going home without having accomplished their errand. Of this Chinese legend, however, no trace is said to be found in the Japanese annals, which, like the living Japanese literati, represent the Corean peninsula as the channel through which Chinese letters and science as well as Chinese religion reached Japan. An opinion confirmed by divers trifling circumstances, some of which have been mentioned in their proper places.

Upon the several topics comprised under the head of international relations, Dr. von Siebold has collected native opinions and statements, and presented them to the European world in the form of extracts from divers Japanese historical works. These, together with some upon the religion and history of Japan which have been given in the chapters treating of those subjects, serve further to supply a fair, and far from disagreeable sample of Japanese taste and skill in literature. The most amusing or informing of those relative to the intercourse between Japan and China, or affording glimpses of the manners and customs of either empire, will furnish the present chapter.

The pretensions of the Central Empire to sovereignty evidently date from very remote times, possibly from the conquest of Daï Nippon by Zin-mu-tan-woo; but it is on record that the Emperor of China, in the second century of the Christian era, if not four hundred years earlier, sent to the Heaven-descended sovereign of the insular empire, the heir and representative of the sun-goddess, a diploma appointing him *Wang* of Nippon. This alluring mode of asserting the claim was adopted, it should seem, whenever an opportunity was offered by Japanese civil wars, in which one of the contending parties might be supported as a vassal of China. By more direct acts of aggression they never seem to have been enforced, and thus cannot be said to have even given occasion to war, since the solitary attempt to conquer or invade Japan here recorded, was that made by the Mongols, and though the invading armament be called Chinese, it was so only because the Mongols had previously conquered China. The two empires were indeed engaged in frequently recurring hostilities, but these were uniformly carried on in Corea, and arose either from a contest for the sovereignty of that peninsula, or, more commonly from their clashing interference in the squabbles of the several states into which it was long divided, and which were respectively the dependent allies of China and Japan.

Of commercial intercourse little mention is made until after the Mongol invasion; but old chroniclers, even in Europe, disdained to record affairs of trade, and the contempt entertained for so vulgarly useful a matter, by the Japanese, would naturally exclude it from the pages of their men of letters. The mention that does occur, however, indicates that the two nations had been long engaged in commerce with each other; and the habitual frequency of their intercourse may be inferred from a circumstance stated by the early European visitors of Japan, visitors in the days when strangers were welcome there. It is that the prodigious numbers of the notorious tea-houses attracted swarms of Chinese to Japan, for the indulgence of vices which at home were subject to all the restrictions proceeding from prohibitory laws, and the consequent necessity for concealment. It is further said that the immense expenditure of these profligate guests rendered them more peculiarly welcome.

The first extract from Japanese works that deserves notice is the account of an embassy to China in the year 659, and it possesses an interest of its own, independent of the subject. The narrative is written by a Corean, who, if the German title of *ein Gelehrte,* (which can only be Englished by a professed man of learning) be rightly applied to him, is a permanent proof of a then existing state of society, hardly to have been looked for in Corea. But to the narrative. It bears the title of the Journal of Yukino Murazi of Petsi, and is preserved in a chronicle of Japanese history from 661 B. C. to A. D. 696, called the *Nipponki,* published A. D. 720, and forming thirty goodly volumes. This *Nipponki*, a later chronicle, (which, under the title of a Historical Survey, was published in seven volumes at Ohosaka, A. D. 1795, and beginning at 661 B. C. brings down the annals of Japan to A. D. 1611), and one of the already described Encyclopedias, are the works from which Siebold has taken most of the extracts in his new numbers.

The less interesting introductory statements may be given in few words. The ambassadors, Ivasiki and Kisa, sailed in separate ships from Ohosaka the 3d of the 7th month of the year 659, taking with them a couple of native Yezoites, in order to amuse his Celestial Majesty, it should seem, by the exhibition of savages. They encountered such adverse winds and tempests that Ivasiki was driven upon an island, where the ship, crew, and passengers were seized, only a small party escaping in their boat. The more fortunate Kisa, with whom was Yukino Murazi, was nine weeks at sea.

"We made Hoai-ngan-shan upon the 15th of the 7th month, but owing to a strong north-easterly wind did not reach Yu-yao-heen (now Tche-keang) until the 23d. As our vessel drew too much water we left her here with her cargo, and on the 1st of the 10th month (it was the intercalary month) repaired to Yue-shan, whence, a fortnight later, we set forward on horseback for the eastern capital of China. We arrived at the place of our destination on the 19th; and, as the Court was then resident there, were presented to the Emperor the next day. The questions that he put to our ambassadors and their answers were as follows:—

'Does the Divine Autocrat enjoy constant repose?'—'Heaven and earth unite to shower blessings upon him, and constant repose follows of course.'—'Are the officers of the realm well appointed and prosperous?'—'The favour of Tenwo streams upon them, so that they may confidently answer for themselves.'—'Does internal tranquillity prevail?'—'The manner of governing is in unison with Heaven and earth, and the people have no anxieties.'—'Where lies the country of these Yezoites?'—'To the north-east.'—'How many kinds of them are there?'—'Three; the most remote of them we call Tsugaru, the next Ara Yezo (the untamed), and those nearest to us Niki Yezo (the boiled down); these are Niki Yezoites. Yearly they bring tribute to our Court."—'Does their country produce corn?'—'No; the inhabitants live upon animal food.'—'Have they houses?'—'No; they dwell under the trees in the mountains.' When the Emperor had expressed his astonishment at the strange appearance of the Yezoites, we were dismissed. The Yezoites, on their part, presented a white deer-skin, with a bow and eighty arrows, as their offering to the Emperor.

"We were now taken to an inn, to rest after the fatigues of our journey. On the 1st of the 11th month, when there was a great assembly at court to celebrate the festival of the winter solstice, we were invited thither, and ours was the most numerous of all the foreign missions. We were not invited again. Two of our people set a house on fire, which was the cause of much annoyance to us. They were punished with exile. On the 1st of the 12th month it was formally announced to us that we could not be permitted to return to our home in the East, as the resolution had been taken to impose laws upon our countrymen on the east of the sea, the following year."

As the political object of this mission is nowhere even alluded to, we are left to conjecture whether it had any reference to the war thus declared, or also whether this war related merely to the usual Corean dissensions, or announced the intention of China to conquer Japan. It afterwards appears as if the conquest of the Corean state of Petsi were the sole result. It may be here observed that, diplomatic inviolability evidently forming no part of the law of nations, according to the Oriental code the Chinese treatment of objectionable ambassadors, which resembles the

Turkish, is far milder than the Japanese. But to return to the Corean journalist.

"We were now taken to the western capital, and there kept in close custody. In this hard condition we passed the greater part of the year. In the 8th month of the year *King-shin*, (660,) Petsi was conquered; and on the 12th of the 9th month, we were set at liberty. On the 19th we quitted the western for the eastern capital, which we reached on the 16th of the 10th month, and there met our countrymen and colleagues, who had escaped with their boat to China. Upon the 1st of the 11th month, came a detachment from the army, with the captive King of Petsi and his court—about thirty persons—who were brought in all haste to the Emperor. We were again presented at court, and then dismissed. We left the capital the 24th, and on the 25th of the 1st month, (a month's ride between the two capitals, and a two months' from the eastern capital to the seaport,) reached Yue-shan, whence we set sail on the 1st of the 4th month. We passed along the south side of Ching-gan-shan on the 7th, and next morning ran out to sea, with a propitious breeze from the south-west.

"Before night of the 9th, we made the island of Tanra, where we prevailed upon some of the inhabitants,—amongst others, the king's son, Abaki—to accompany us. We brought them,—nine persons in all, to the court of the *Mikado*, then held at Asakura in Tosi, where we arrived the 23rd of the 5th month (661.) This was the first time that men of Tanra ever waited upon the *Mikado* to do him reverence."

The next passage worth notice likewise taken from the Nipponki, the general authority, is the mention of a Chinese visit or visitation to Japan, the object of which is not stated, but in which the conduct of the visitor appears to rebut the idea of any permanent and habitual assumption of sovereignty on the part of the Central Empire. Perhaps a treaty upon terms of equality might have been negociated since the Chinese conquest of Petsi.

"1672, 3rd month. A division of the Chinese fleet consisting of forty-seven junks, with two thousand men on board, from the island of Fitsi, landed on the coast of Tsukusi (Fizen). They had previously given the Prince of Tsuzima notice of their coming, that they might not be deemed enemies. Upon their landing, they put on mourning garments for the death of the Mikado, and took upon themselves the performance of an homage-doing ceremony to his successor, by bowing towards sun-rise. They were collectively presented with silk stuffs, and soon afterwards set sail again."

The next passage intimates the general superiority of China over Japan in point of learning.

We are there told, that in the year 716, two students visited the Central Empire for the purpose of study; both being at the time between twenty and thirty years of age. The one, named Simo-mitsi-no-Mabi, returned home after a sojourn of nineteen years, and, under the designation of Kibino Daisi, became the most celebrated of all the learned men to whom Japan has given birth. The other was so honoured in China, that he there obtained the appointment of Archive Keeper, and held it for sixty-one years, during which he lived in social or scientific relations with all the distinguished Chinese philosophers of the day. At length he was seized with *nostalgia*, and embarking for Japan at the age of eighty-seven, is said to have been lost at sea in a storm.

It is not worth while to enumerate all the visits of this last kind to the Central Empire, especially of Japanese Buddhist priests, seeking religious instruction more profound than their own country could then afford in the dogma of Buddhism. Neither, turning to political relations, can British readers feel much curiosity respecting the frequent closing of Chinese ports against the contagion of Japanese civil wars, or the ever-recurring hostilities in Corea, where the small states were always striving to subjugate each other, whilst all were almost always severally subject to their powerful neighbours, whom the peninsula, even when united into one kingdom, under the Chinese name of *Chao-sëen*, or morning's brightness, proved unable to resist. The only war most worth noticing is the Mongol-Chinese attempt to subdue Japan to the yoke imposed, or then in course of imposition upon China and Corea, narrated in the last chapter; and of that, which was Mongol, not truly Chinese, nothing further need be here said. The *Nipponki*, a Japanese Encyclopedia, and a later work, which, under the title of a Historical Survey, was published in seven volumes, at Ohosaka, A.D. 1795, and beginning from the same date as the *Nipponki*, bring down the annals of Japan to the year 1611.

The next subject that claims attention is the interference of China in Japanese affairs, with her pretension to sovereignty. Of both many instances occur; but, the earliest recorded having been already mentioned, it will be enough to say, that in the intestine wars of which Japan was the frequent theatre, one party frequently applied to the Emperor of China for aid, and seldom applied in vain; when the aid bestowed was usually accompanied by a diploma appointing the efficiently supported client of the Central Empire, *Wang* of Nippon. The most remarkable instance of this assumption of superior authority occurred, however, during the *ziogoonship* of Hideyosi, *alias* Tayko-sama. It will be recollected that he invaded Corea, soon after he had possessed himself of the power for which he had contended against many rivals; so doing partly to occupy the restless spirits who had been engaged in the civil war, partly to extend his dominions by chastising a refractory dependency. China defended the peninsula which she claimed as her own; war ensued, and then peace followed. After the treaty was concluded, the Emperor Tai Ming sent a professedly amicable and complimentary embassy to the *ziogoon*, whom he designated as his vassal the *Wang* of Nippon. Indignantly the able and energetic Hideyosi exclaimed, "Sovereign of Nippon I have already made myself, and, if it comes to this, I will turn over a new leaf, and make Tai Ming *my* vassal." The rupture of the lately concluded peace and a second invasion of Corea were the fruits of his resentment; the war ceased only with the *ziogoon's* life.

In 1607 a Chinese embassy visited Japan, friendly relations were restored, and the Chinese permitted to trade with Japan, and for that purpose to establish a factory at Nagasaki. Some time seems to be always requisite before peace with Corea follows upon peace with China. It was only in 1615 that the Ziogoon Iyeyas concluded with the peninsula, united into Chaoseën, a treaty by which it was agreed, not, as we have been elsewhere told, that homage paying missions should be sent from Corea to Japan upon the accession of every new *ziogoon;* but that reciprocal embassies of congratulation should be sent by either state upon every accession of a new monarch, and that the Prince of Tsuzima should be allowed to establish a commercial factory in Corea. That this factory was subjected to restrictions analogous to those imposed upon foreigners in Japan, will appear in the course of the next, and concluding specimen of Japanese narrative writing, the last relative to the subject of the present chapter. Before proceeding to translate it, however, the observation may not be misplaced that the terms of this treaty, the reciprocal congratulations and the restrictions upon the Tsuzima factory, do not look much like the acknowledgment on the part of Chao-seën of vassalage, or the payment of tribute to Daï Nippon.

The passage in question is a narrative of the disasters and adventures of a party of Japanese traders, who were made prisoners by the Tatar subjects of the Mantchoo Emperor of China. It is written by one of the party, and preserved in a History of Chao-seën, published at Yedo. The disaster occurred in the year 1645, when the exclusive principle had been adopted with respect to Europeans, but not yet, it should seem, extended to Asiatics. At what time the plan of secluding the Japanese was superadded to the resolute exclusion of foreigners, does not clearly appear, and in all likelihood it was merely the natural development or growth of the former, as the government observed the perfect internal tranquillity that had ensued upon the absence of external interference.

"From the earliest times," says the narrator, "the inhabitants of the coast-towns Sinbo and Mikuni-ura, in the province of Yetsizen, have been wont, at the close of winter, to pass over to the dependencies of Japan, there to trade. In 1645 vessels were equipped for this purpose; with three of which Take-utsi Tosaimon, his son Tezo, and the ship-master Kunida Fiosayemon sailed the 1st of the fourth month. The crews amounted to fifty-eight persons, among whom was the writer of this narrative. * * *

"All on board were in the gayest disposition, when in the night a sudden storm arose, and before an attempt could be made at anchoring, hurried away the ships. Upon the 15th or 16th day, as the wind fell, we found ourselves driving towards an unknown mountainous coast. Carefully we examined it, but could perceive neither habitations nor inhabitants. We lowered the boats, took in fresh water, and cooked us a meal. Then we cut down timber to repair our damaged vessel, which occupied us about ten days. This done we set sail to return home [apparently abandoning their commercial speculation.] But again the wind changed, and carried us yet further to the westward, towards a high coast, where we ran into a creek. Immediately we saw sixty men, in as many small boats, rowing towards us. They called to us, but we did not understand them, and they turned back. Soon afterwards three of them, keeping close together, again rowed within reach of the ship, and, upon our invitation, came on board. We offered the strangers food and *sakee*, which they refused, when we, to show the harmlessness of the things, tasted them ourselves, and then again offered them, they ate and drank unhesitatingly.

"One of them drew a piece of *ginseng* from his breast, and pointing to a kettle, gave us to understand that he wished to trade. His article proved to be unprepared Chinese *ginseng*, and we agreed to his proposal. Then it occurred to us that we should like to see the place where this plant is produced, and we signified by gestures, that we would give him rice, if he would show us the region where the *ginseng* grows. He nodded his head, pointed to the mountains, imitated the crowing of the cock, and returned on shore with his comrades.

"As we had conceived from his signs, at daybreak the same three men presented themselves.

Fourteen of our party remained with the ships, the rest set out for the mountains. All were unarmed; for during the storm, we had made a vow to the sea-god to sacrifice our weapons by throwing them into the water, so our lives might be spared; and that vow we had religiously fulfilled. After being led a little way inland, through a thicket of tall reeds, the Japanese heard yells on all sides. They were surrounded, and a tempest of arrows hailed upon them. Without arms resistance was impossible. They fled in every direction, but in a few minutes the greater part, pierced with arrows, lay dead upon the ground. Thirteen only managed to hide themselves amidst the reeds; but they were speedily sought after, dragged out, and bound together in couples. The whole body, seemingly a thousand strong, now hurried down to the shore, and fell upon the ships. Here ten more Japanese were slain with arrows, and Fiosayemon's vessel was set on fire. He leaped into the sea, where, rising and sinking, he was already struggling with death, when the stranger of the preceding day, he who had promised to show us the *ginseng* ground, ran forward, repelled the assailants, and dragged Fiosayemon out of the water. He likewise rescued Tosaimon's fourteen-year-old son. The ships were clean plundered, and every thing was carried off. The surviving Japanese, fifteen out of fifty-eight, were distributed singly in the different dwellings. We were sent out into the fields to gather herbs. We afterwards learned the name of the land — it was the coast of Tattan.*

"A report of this massacre of Japanese at length reached the governor of the country, and ten subaltern officials appeared amongst us, sent to investigate the affair. They were indignant at the illegal concealment of the whole transaction; summoned the three chiefs of the place, and took them together with ourselves to the Tatar capital. We travelled on horseback with a military escort, and completed the journey upon the 25th day. We were taken at once before the governor, who began the examination in great anger. He attacked our local chiefs with the questions, Why had they not communicated so important an occurrence to government? How had they dared to kill so many men upon their own authority? The chiefs answered that they took us for Japanese robbers, and therefore attacked us, killing our friends. This explanation was not satisfactory, and he ordered them an hundred and fifty strokes of the bamboo a-piece. This done, he questioned us by signs; whereupon Fiosayemon, taking out his nose-papers, blew away a leaf, to indicate that we were driven to this coast by the wind. He then sat down in a peaceful attitude, to intimate that we were merchants, not robbers or pirates, which he also expressed in words. The governor seemed to understand him. He gave us Tatar clothes, and explained to us that we must be taken to Peking, and there solicit the emperor's permission to return home. He spoke kindly to us, saying we had nothing to fear, and we gave him thanks.

---

* See Note XXIV.

"Shortly afterwards we set out for Peking, accompanied by Tatar officers. This journey likewise we performed on horseback, and it occupied forty days. Immediately upon our arrival, we were taken before the governor, to whom a report of our misadventure was made. He then sent us to an inn, where we were assigned three servants to wait on us, and to each man daily a ration of rice, a pound of pork, barley-meal, rice-beer, tea, poultry, fish, salt, wood, &c. We were likewise supplied with clothes, bedding and the like; and we spent a long time there.

"In the 5th month of the following year, having made ourselves more familiar with the Chinese tongue, we addressed a petition to the governor, entreating his permission to return home. He answered, 'Your business is before the emperor, who has inquired into the whole of your misadventure. Nippon understands the administration of justice, and the conduct of war; it is a land wherein virtue and humanity reign. Therefore has the emperor expressly commanded that you should want for nothing until your return thither. For that you must await his pleasure.' With tears we expressed our thanks for the Imperial goodness, and looked hopefully forward to the decision of our fate.

"Upon the 5th of the 11th month of this same year, we were again called before the governor, who informed us that our petition of last summer was granted, and he had orders to dispatch us by the 10th, sending an escort with us to Chao-seën. In the emperor's name he made us presents of sheep-skins, fur garments, and shoes. Our joy was unbounded; we returned heart-felt thanks for the emperor's goodness, and withdrew to our inn.

"On the 10th the governor sent us twenty sheep, rice, beer and pastry, as a farewell present, with information that the next day was appointed for our departure. In the morning came three officers with many horses, and led us to the Court of Justice; where the governor took a survey of us, then, touched by our gratitude, with kindly condescension wished us a happy return home, and, as he gave the officers the necessary travelling papers, recommended to them the greatest care of the strangers committed to their charge. We mounted and set off. First marched a great dragon-standard, then eight smaller red, and four white flags. The Japanese, conducted by two officers, followed in three lines; and before each line were borne an umbrella, a pike and other weapons. A guard of an hundred men surrounded the cavalcade, which left Peking in grand style. * * * *

"As we approached Liaotung the cold grew more severe. The snow rendered the roads almost impassable; and we found the river Ta-leou-shuy there 343 *metres* broad, frozen over as far as the eye could reach. Man and horse crossed it as if upon dry ground, and proceeded to the frontier river of Chao-seën, Yalu-keang, which was likewise frozen. This, and two more frozen rivers, we similarly crossed upon the ice, and upon the banks of the last found a body of two hundred Coreans, awaiting us with horses ready saddled. The Peking commander delivered us and the imperial mandate over to the Corean commander, and our Peking escort, all but ten men, left us. This took place on the 9th of the 12th month.

* * * *

"In a wide-spreading plain, full of varied groups of trees stands the capital, which we reached upon the 28th. As our arrival had been previously announced, officers of government came forth to meet us, who first welcomed our Peking escort, then turning to us, said, that we were punctual to the appointed hour, and the royal edifice *Tung-phing-kwan* was prepared for our reception. We were led straight to a hall, the walls of which were painted with landscapes, beasts, birds and plants, and in places decorated with gold dust, and gold leaf. The pictures were so various and so beautiful that their sight astonished us. On both sides of the hall were seats covered with tiger skins, upon which we were desired to sit. A large wooden table, set out with artificial flowers, was then brought in, as also two smaller ones, over which were thrown red carpets of felt that hung down to the ground, thus concealing the feet of those who sat at them. One table displayed fish and muscles, decorated with artificial flowers, poultry, beef, and mutton. The table service was chiefly of porcelain and tin. Upon the other table were cakes and several kinds of confectionery, with spoons and chopsticks.

"The servants, of whom there were sixty or seventy, invited us and our Peking companions to eat. But we, unacquainted as yet with the forms of a Corean repast, kept ourselves quiet, watching the officer, who had taken the middle seat. No one would begin. The servants pressed us more and more urgently, and at length one of us who sat at the upper end, in some confusion took hold of a wheaten cake, when all the rest followed his example, and eat those cakes. Each guest, according to the custom of the country, had three servants waiting upon him at either side, handing him what he himself could not reach. As since leaving Peking we had not seen our favourite food, fish, on account of our great distance from the sea-coast, one of us laid his hand upon a carp, seemingly dressed with syrup sauce, that stood before him. But the carp adhered immoveably to the dish, and the servants told us that it was put there only for show. We now supposed that the whole set out was as little designed to be eaten as the carp, and we were to wait for the evening meal. Under this impression we betook us to the cakes and confectionery, with which we drank rice-beer.

"At length the servants removed these tables, bringing in their stead two more, similarly covered with felt carpets. Upon the one were five messes of soup, upon the other from six to ten different viands. The table service was entirely metal, and with the soups were given spoons and chopsticks. The soups, besides seeming to be rarities, looked very tempting, and we all attacked them. Their taste was sweet. The poultry and fish upon the second table proved to be of a more useful kind than the former show-course. With these dishes also rice-beer was served to us, both clear and thick, and both sorts delicious. The servants still urged the guests to eat, till one after another all had excused themselves; then the tables were removed and tea was brought. So luxurious a banquet as this was not again given us during our stay in the capital, but we were daily treated with two meals of varying dishes. When we rose from our seats Fiosayemon thus addressed us. 'We have often heard that only at the tables of the princes of our country are served up courses of seven, five, and three dishes. Would we had never been in the way of such an entertainment! But we in return must cause *Finomoto's* * radiant virtue to reveal itself here. If plain folks like us have been sent under secure escort all the way from Peking to the King of Chao-seën's palace, enjoying such exalted protection, we must for that give thanks to the goodness of the Most High.'

"As evening closed in, presents were brought us. Each man received cloths and coverlets, three rolls of white linen, a girdle, a pillow, five quires of Chinese paper, a writing pencil, and three cakes of Indian ink. We expressed to the superintendant our gratitude for these gifts, and our wish that the king might be pleased to allow of our returning home forthwith. He answered that the people in office had just at this moment too much pressing business, to take our affair in hand, how willing soever they might be; and the Japanese must await the new year,—now only two days distant. He then turned to the Peking officer, and said, 'The Japanese will this very day be committed to the care of a person, in whose house they may recover from the fatigues of their journey, with minds at ease concerning their future lot.' The leader of the escort replied that so soon as the Corean government should give orders for conveying the Japanese home, he himself should set out upon his return to Peking. After saying this he took leave of us, and went with his men to quarters of his own.

---

* An original Japanese name for Japan.

"In our new abode our entertainment was so ample, that we told our landlord it was far from agreeable to us to see him put himself to so much trouble and expense upon our account. He informed us that a merchant undertook for the whole; that he had received five sacks of rice for the board of each of us, with three more for his own trouble, and was thus sufficiently remunerated. The next day the Corean Kandshung, who had been commanded from on high to bear us company, visited us, and invited us to take a walk."

The description of the capital of Corea, as seen in these walks, may be passed over, merely mentioning that Kandshung showed the Japanese a library, containing stores of native history and a large collection of Chinese works, designed for the use of the princes and the sons of grandees, and much frequented by men in office. The following day Kandshung deserted them, and they went out alone to see the celebration of the new year's festival, which appears not to be very dissimilar from the Japanese. To return to the narrator.

"We deliberated whether we ought not to offer the new-year's good wishes to those of our Peking escort who were in the town, thus proving that the favours conferred upon us by the Emperor were never to be forgotten. The suggestion was approved; but we could not immediately agree as to what clothes should be worn. At length Fiosayemon declared his opinion that the most fitting attire would be the fur garments we had received from the Emperor, and that the elders of the party only should go upon the errand, such visits beseeming them better than the young. We returned to our lodgings, when the five oldest of the party donned their fur garments amidst the bursts of laughter of their juniors. And in truth there was much to laugh at in our envoys, who, from the neck downward, were good Chinese, with Japanese heads on their shoulders; so that at first sight it was not very clear to which nation they belonged. They therefore, by the advice of the juniors, put on Corean hats, and thus repaired to the Peking officer's house, where they duly tendered their congratulations.

"The following day Kandshung came to us. He apologized for his yesterday's absence, upon the ground of the many congratulatory visits that the new year's festival had compelled him to pay, and in compensation for which he now intended to enjoy some comfortable hours with us over a bowl of rice-beer (*sul*)."

The long conversation that ensued over this bowl of *sul* (whether that be the Corean name for *sakee*, or, as seems more likely, from a subsequent expression, the Chinese and Corean rice-beer be a different beverage) must needs be compressed, giving at length only the most interesting, in any point of view, of Fiosayemon's remarks. Kandshung extolled the philosophic King of Chao-seën and his government, the high value set upon learning, and the general prosperity of the country. He stated that capital punishment was rare; and that, when inflicted, it was necessary to use a Japanese sword, the Corean iron being so bad that no home-made blade could take off a head. When so tried, the Corean sword was obliged to be helped with sharpened bamboos, which made decapitation a fearfully long and cruel operation. He concluded by observing, "Nippon is a fine country, far advanced beyond all others in the arts." He then questioned Fiosayemon as to what he had seen in Peking and Tartary.

Fiosayemon said, "During our stay in Tattan and Peking we had no opportunity of seeing the domestic economy of the higher classes, but much of that of the common people. We found that the master of the house sits with his whole family at one table, upon which is placed one large dish of rice or other victuals. From this every one helps himself with his own little dish or porringer, and so eats his morning or evening meal with spoon or chopsticks. As to poisoning, during the wars of the Tatars against the Ming dynasty, it became so common as to be in a manner national; but it is not therefore the less a mark of great baseness to delude with fair words a man whom one hates or envies, and whilst abstaining from drawing a sword out of fear for one's own carcase, to put him thus slily out of the way.

* * * * *

"There is much benevolence in the Tatar character. The great treat their inferiors with hearty kindness. The master considers his servants as his children, and they regard him as their common father. He allows them to marry when of suitable age, and maintains both husband and wife. The heart of the Tatar is upright and true; treachery and rapacity are strangers to it. The natives of Peking (the Chinese), on the contrary, are disobliging, treacherous, and thievish; wherefore most offices are filled by Tatars."

* * * * *

"We inquired after the *ginseng*, and learned that it is found only in two parts of the mountains between China and Corea, where beasts of prey so abound as to render *ginseng* gathering a perilous business. The gatherers must begin by hunting the tigers. * * *

"We spent the few days of our residence in the capital of Chao-seën very pleasantly, and the last night in a *sakee* drinking party. At dawn of the 7th we took a final leave of our Peking guards, who departed simultaneously with ourselves, and we passed the city gates accompanied by Kand-shung, our host, and some Corean acquaintance. Without the gate our horses waited, and we bade farewell.

"On the 11th we reached Dshung-dshen, where we lodged in the house of the governor of this provincial capital. At night-fall and day-break we were surprised with music, and learned that it is the custom here for those in authority to call the labourers under their control to their work in the morning and dismiss them to their rest at night, by music. The sub-officials, and all who receive pay from the state, inscribe upon the cornice of their rooms the consecration-names of the rulers of the land, in chronological order, from the founder of the dynasty to the father of the reigning king, adding the years of their reigns and the dates of their deaths, respectively. The object of this is that the young, by having it constantly before their eyes, may become familiar to drive their bargains with the Japanese, whose ships yearly frequent this port for commercial purposes.

"At length we entered the Tsuzima factory-house, and were presented to the President, Fooroo-gawoo-udsi, at the sight of whom we rejoiced, as if already we again beheld father and mother. He received our report of the manner in which we, fifteen Japanese, had fallen into captivity on the Tatar coast, and been thence taken to Peking. He took the travelling papers given us by the Peking authorities, and by the King of Chao-seën. He asked us the proper questions, had every thing reduced to writing, and then appointed us an inn, where we were provided with all necessaries. In the harbour lay many vessels ready for sea, and as soon as the wind was fair, the secretary to the factory put us on board a ship that was carrying troops to Tsuzima.

"By the 17th of the second month, we made Wani-ura in Tsuzima, and on the 22nd arrived at Futsiu, the capital of the principality; where our papers were taken, and ourselves examined as at Fusankai. It was not till the 2nd of the sixth month that we left this island, fully clothed in the Japanese garb by the governor. On the 16th we landed at Ohosaka, where the officer who had brought us from Tsuzima led us to the official home of our native prince. His agent ordered some soldiers to take us straight home. Then we were, of course, presented in the first instance to our prince, after which every man hurried to his own home, when the joy of wives, children, parents, and kindred at sight of us, amounted well nigh to frenzy. The families and connexions of our slaughtered companions, meanwhile, covered themselves with mourning garments, and offered up the death sacrifice."

It is evident that these enfranchised captive traders were not punished for their misfortunes, as Japanese similarly situated would be at the present day; but the germ of the later and harsher secluding system is also evident in the investigations, forms, and delays (the latter probably occasioned by the time requisite for inquiries or reports) that obstructed their return to their families for so many months after they were in their native country, continuing up to the last minute. This is not the least curious illustration of Japanese Manners and Customs, afforded by these specimens of Japanese narrative literature.

NOTES.

Note I.—Page 4.

A brief account of the different writers upon Japan, of whom by far the greater number have been consulted for the contents of the present volume, may satisfy the reader, if not of the perfect authenticity of all the statements herein given, at least that no pains have been spared to authenticate them.

The earliest writers from whom we derive any knowledge of this insular empire, are the Jesuit Missionaries. But though they afford much information, they do so for the most part, incidentally; their reports to their superior relating chiefly to their success in making converts, and latterly, to the persecution endured by their flock and by themselves. This persecution constitutes likewise the main subject of the histories of Japan compiled from Jesuit materials by the learned Father Charlevoix and Crasset.

From the expulsion of the Jesuits, A.D. 1640, the additional communications respecting Japan given to the European public, consisted of a few notices by Dutch voyagers, and Albertus Montanus's Atlas Japonensis — professedly a compilation from the journals of several Dutch embassies, the compiler having evidently no personal knowledge of the country, and being of a credulous disposition, as also somewhat ignorant, a fact that appears from his statements relative to natural history, and other matters, in regard to which we have better means of testing his accuracy. To these must, however, be added one important and very instructive work, though little adapted to the present taste for light and easy reading; namely, Kæmpfer's History of Japan. This author's two ponderous folio tomes,—ponderous in every sense of the word—contain so much information as to make the reader wonder how he could collect it, having spent only two years in Japan, and that when the anti-foreigner system flourished in youthful vigour. Kæmpfer was a German physician, attached to the Dutch factory in his professional capacity, at the end of the 17th century.

In the year 1775 Dr. Thunberg, a Swedish physician and eminent naturalist, was similarly sent to Japan, as the medical attendant of the Dezima factory. Like Dr. Kæmpfer he passed only two years there, during which he as diligently as his predecessor studied the land of his temporary sojourn. Upon his return to Europe he published some scientific works upon the natural history of Japan; and four volumes of travels, of which about one was dedicated to the general appearance, manners, customs, &c. &c., of that singular country. He is more amusing but less instructive than old Kæmpfer.

The next works treating of Japan appeared after the lapse of more than a quarter of a century, and are the Russian Captain Golownin's Account of his Captivity in Japan, and Recollections of Japan. The circumstances of this naval officer's captivity in a remote part of the empire, as mentioned in the chapter upon the attempts of foreigners to open commercial relations with Japan, prove that his opportunities for personal observation could be but few; and as his communications, during the greater part of his enforced abiding passed through the interpretation of a half savage Kurile, without words or ideas for anything beyond the commonplace business of every-day life, it is equally evident that he was peculiarly obnoxious to misinformation and misapprehension. Hence his books, though very entertaining, require to be read with great caution, and his authority is that upon which least reliance can be placed.

Some twelve or fifteen years later began to appear Japanese documents that had been in Europe even in the last century. Heer Izaak Titsingh became head of the Dutch factory soon after Dr. Thunberg left Japan; and he seems to have returned more than once to Dezima, always in the same character, and always for a short period. He made large collections of objects of art and of natural history, as also of books, MSS., &c.; all of which he brought home, together with many translations from the Japanese. But he died at Paris in 1812, without having either published or prepared for publication any of his literary stores, and his whole collection was dispersed. Several years afterwards the French purchaser of some of his papers published in French Titsingh's translation of the annals of the *Ziogoons*, together with other miscellaneous papers; and in 1834 appeared, also in French, his translation of the annals of the *Dairi*, corrected and edited by Klaproth.

The last named learned profound Orientalist, J. H. Klaproth, had two years previously published his own translation of a Japanese geographical treatise, (the character of which as well as of the annals is given in the chapter upon the language and literature of Japan) and had given the world his opinion of the Japanese language in his scientific and laborious work, the *Asia Polyglotta.*

We now come to the Dutch and German authors from whose writings the contents of this volume have been chiefly gathered; and with respect to the former, so much of their means of acquiring information, as, respectively, heads and warehouse-master of the Dezima factory, appears in the use made of their books, that it may be sufficient here to add the names of those books, after preliminarily observing that from Heer Doeff, considering his nineteen years' residence at Dezima, far greater stores of additional knowledge concerning Japan might have been hoped for, had he not lost his papers, collections, every thing but his own life — his newly married wife and unborn babe perished in consequence of the hardships and sufferings endured — in a calamitous shipwreck upon his voyage home. The Dutch works are, President Meylan's JAPAN *voorgesteld in Schetsen over de Zeden en Gebruiken van det Rÿk, bÿzonder over de Ingezetenen der Stad Nagasaki; Anglice,* "JAPAN, presented in sketches of the manners and customs of that realm, especially of the town of Nagasaki," published in 1830. Meylan, it is understood, has since died in Japan. Warehouse-master Overmeer Fischer's quarto volume, entitled *Bÿdrage tot Kennis van het Japansche Rÿk*, or "Contributions towards the knowledge of the Japanese realm," appeared in 1833; and was followed in the course of the same year, by President Doeff's *Herinnerungen uit* JAPAN, or "Recollections of Japan," which appear to have been called forth by the president's having erroneously conceived that the warehouse-master claimed as the fruit of his own labours a Japanese and Dutch dictionary compiled by Doeff, professedly for the use of the Japanese interpreters, his copy of which was lost with his other papers. The books have been here named in the order of their publication; but it should be mentioned that Doeff had quitted Japan before either of his brother-writers reached it, and that Fischer preceded Meylan. Last and most important, is the German work of Dr. von Siebold, another factory physician. It is entitled NIPPON, *Archiv zur Beschreibung von Japan* (NIPPON, an archive towards the description of Japan;) and teems with curious matter; the only subject for regret being, that the miscellaneous form in which the learned author has, for some unexplained reason, thought fit to publish the result of his diligent and judicious observations and researches, without taking the trouble of arranging and fashioning them into a whole, renders his archive, at least in its present state, utterly unsuited to translation into English, although invaluable as a mine of information.

A small English, or rather American volume, with a title nearly as long as itself, that may, however, be abridged into "Parker's Journal of an Expedition from Singapore to Japan," published in 1838, adds nothing to our stock of knowledge, neither the writer nor any of his companions having been suffered to set foot on shore in Japan.

Note II.—Page 13.

The statement of one of the Dutch writers, that the Dutch of the interpreters is so thoroughly Japanese in idiom, grammar, and construction, as to be hardly intelligible to a new comer, seems somewhat contradictory to the German assertion of their accurately nice discrimination. The discrepancy may perhaps be in some measure reconciled by supposing that the startling panegyric refers solely to pronunciation; and although even in this respect it is generally agreed that Japanese organs are so far obtuse as to perceive no difference between the sounds of an H and an F, or of an L and an R, it does not actually follow that they should be incapable of distinguishing a German accentuation of Dutch.

Note III.—Page 17.

If Montanus, or his English translator Ogilby, is to be trusted, a precedent not liable to this objection might have been cited, inasmuch as he states that in 1660 *Opperhoofd* Indük was not only indulged with the company of his two little children, a boy and a girl, and with the attendance of his Indian domestics at Dezima; but was allowed to take the former with him to Yedo. The *Atlas Japonensis* cannot indeed claim much credit when opposed either to other authorities or to common sense; but as the restrictions upon numbers have certainly been gradually increasing, it may be supposed that the exclusion of individuals unnecessary to the conduct of the trade, was not always quite so strict as it now is.

Note IV.—Page 26.

Some discrepancy as to the numbers of the factory exists between Doeff and Fischer; and as the President writes only from recollection, whilst the warehouse-master had all his papers and memoranda before him, the authority of the latter has been preferred. It may be here said, once for all, that when such trifling disagreements in statement or orthography occur, the writer who appears likely to have been the best informed, and especially Dr. von Siebold, as from his superior education assuredly a more judicious observer than mere mercantile men, has been followed, often without notice of the disagreement.

Note V.—Page 37.

These two sovereigns are very incorrectly termed by European writers sometimes the Spiritual and Temporal Emperors, sometimes the Japanese Pope and the Emperor. The *Mikado* is the generally acknowledged Emperor, supreme and absolute alike in spiritual and temporal affairs: the *Ziogoon* is a military officer, a hereditary commander-in-chief, professedly the mere lieutenant or vicegerent of the *Mikado;* although in fact more powerful, and, to borrow Trinculo's phraseology, "viceroy over him." Klaproth says that when the meaning of the title Emperor was explained to the Japanese, they were indignant at its application to the *Ziogoon,* declaring that there was no Emperor in Japan but the *Mikado.* Hence it seems difficult to designate these two potentates otherwise than by their Japanese titles, however uncouth to English ears or eyes.

Note VI.—Page 38.

The mutual recriminations of the Dutch and Portuguese who impute each to the other the proscription of Christianity, and the exclusion of foreigners from Japan, are not now worth investigating. It is likely enough that both accusations may be partially just. The Portuguese may have identified themselves to an injudicious degree with the Jesuits; and the progress of conversion, joined to the acknowledgment of the pope's spiritual supremacy by all converts, may have alarmed the government, as interfering with authority derived from the gods of Japan: while the Dutch may have gladly fomented any mistrust or ill-will felt towards their commercial rivals;

who, being then subject to the King of Spain, were, moreover, their political as well as their religious enemies, — if, indeed, ideas so contradictory as religion and enmity, may be thus combined. It is very satisfactory to find the view here taken of so obscure and complicated a question, very nearly coincident with the opinion of the able writer who reviewed these Dutch records of modern Japan in the Quarterly. Although it is inconsistent whith the plan and object of the present work to introduce into its pages passages from publications that are in the hands and memory of every one, it may be allowable upon this subject to quote the very words of the distinguished writer alluded to. They are:

"Few portions of the religious history of the world would be more interesting than a faithful record of these events. In the annals of Christianity few examples have occurred of a triumph so rapid, followed by destruction so complete. Whether the force of circumstances *compelled* the Jesuits, who were agents of that great conversion, to associate themselves with a party in the civil feuds which then distracted Japan, or whether they did so voluntarily, and in pursuance of the alleged practice of their order, — of which their first apostle Xavier was a joint founder with Loyola — may be doubtful; certain it is that in an evil hour they took their part in the dispute, and perished. Japanese tradition attributes to them, as a cause and justification of their fall, rapacity and sensuality. This we doubt. Those vices are usually the attendants of long and undisturbed possession, rather than of the circumstances in which the missionaries of a religion struggling into life were placed. It is likely that the hostilities of their Dutch rivals may have magnified individual instances of such errors, and that the zeal of triumphant persecution may have perpetuated the imputation."

In further corroboration of these remarks it may be added, that the chapter upon Japanese history will show that neither schemes of conquest, nor caballing and underhand measures, nor even offensive vices and arrogance in the Jesuits were requisite to impel an usurper to a course which he deemed conducive to his interest, or merely simply gratifying to his resentment.

Note VII.—Page 42.

Every foreign wrecked vessel, or, if it be incapable of floating, its crew, must, how remote soever the scene of its disaster, be brought to Nagasaki, as the only place in the empire where aliens can be even temporarily tolerated. This is so extensively comprehensive a law, that even the barks of Japanese dependencies, as the Corea and the Loo Choo Islands, are taken thither for examination, and the crews are detained there until they can be sent home.

Note VIII.—Page 44.

Dr. von Siebold avers, and the assertion appears to be consonant with probability and analogy, that a *gobanyosi*, or superior police officer, is by no means a high dignitary in Japanese estimation.

Note IX.—Page 69.

The Japanese persist in their preference of the matchlock to the musket; the reason of which the Dutch conjecture to be neither dullness of perception to the superiority of the latter, nor a prejudiced adherence to that to which they are accustomed, but a deficiency of flints in the geological formation of their country, and their determined aversion to dependence upon foreigners for anything essential to their military equipment.

Note X.—Page 82.

This is clearly an extra audience, additional to the two mentioned by President Meylan as the only ones. He omitted this third audience of leave, probably either because it was not annual, or because he had not himself as yet had any acquaintance with it. He evidently had not performed the Yedo journey when he wrote his sketches.

Note XI.—Page 129.

This proclamation is not mentioned by early writers, and appears to have originated in some acts of piracy committed by Dutch mariners upon Chinese junks, and the occasional appearance of Dutch vessels upon interdicted points, a contravention of Japanese law that awoke suspicions of their seeking to smuggle Portuguese missionaries into the empire. In fact the alliance contracted by Holland with Portugal subsequent to the recovery of her independence by the latter kingdom, seems to have greatly perplexed the court of Yedo, and provoked much distrust of the Dutch statements relative to the difference between the respective Christianity of the two countries; thus giving birth to repeated and skilfully arranged interrogatories, which resulted probably in this proclamation, annually enforced upon the attention of the Dutch at Dezima, and quadrennially at Yedo.

Note XII.—Page 167.

From a comparison of the different accounts of different writers it may be inferred that it is rather the killing the animal than the eating its flesh that the Japanese so decidedly reprobate and prohibit, as an act of base ingratitude. We are told that no repugnance is manifested by the usual dinner guests of the Dutch at Dezima to partake at their tables of the beef sent from Java.

Note XIII.—Page 228.

From the "every other" must be excepted Montanus and Ogilby. The reasons that invalidate the authority of the *Atlas Japonensis* have been already stated; but upon the point in question it may be observed that the powerful usurpers, to whose times this work refers, might not unlikely give unusally strong hints or even issue a command upon which the present *Ziogoons*, and even the council, would not dream of venturing.

Note XIV.—Page 237.

Both Meylan and Fischer, in briefly alluding to this unfortunate visit of the Phaeton to the Bay of Nagasaki, explicitly assert that Captain Pellew insisted upon a supply of fresh beef as the ransom of his Dutch prisoners, threatening to hang them both in case of refusal; and that the Governor, having out of sheer humanity sacrificed a bullock to save the lives of two men, killed himself to expiate this sin of commission, this transgression of a positive law. Now, to say nothing either of the improbability of an English gentleman's being guilty of an act so idly and foolishly violent and cruel, or of the fact that he did not enter Nagasaki Bay in search of provisions, his demand for which seems to have been merely a mean of opening communication with the shore, or of plausibly gaining time to ascertain the presence or absence of the Dutch ships, it is to be observed that neither Meylan nor Fischer were at Dezima when the affair took place, and that they can therefore know its details only from hearsay; whilst Doeff was not only upon the spot, but one of the chief actors in the prologue to the final tragedy. From the pages of Doeff the narrative in the text is taken, with no other alteration than some considerable compression, the addition of an explanation of Captain Pellew's motives for this unlucky step, and the omission of much vituperation of that officer in particular, and of his countrymen in general. President Doeff, who assuredly seeks not to favour England or the English, to whom, on the contrary, he imputes every body's misdemeanours, and who explicitly states the Governor's reasons for committing suicide, says not one word of beef or the murder of an ox. The fact seems to be simply that the tale had, as usual, grown more marvellous by frequent repetition, when told to the later writers.

NOTE XV.—Page 251, line 21.

Whether the *Midia's* high birth, as the grand-daughter of Heaven, and the respect ever paid to the *Mikado*, would or would not have protected her from the affront of a divorce, we are not told, and the *Ziogoon's* threat might equally imply either legal repudiation, or a mere continuance and increase of previous neglect.

Note XVI.—Page 274.

This is not the first nor the only instance of a difficulty respecting the general representation of the *Ziogoon's* person by his officers. Another occurred with the Coreans, and was settled during Doeff's residence at Dezima, which may be worth mentioning. The King of Corea sends to every new *Ziogoon* an embassy, which the Japanese consider as a mission of homage, although it appears to be in fact one of compliment upon his accession, reciprocated by the *Ziogoon* upon every accession of a King of Corea. This Corean embassy formerly repaired to Yedo and paid his compliment to the monarch himself. But upon the accession of the reigning *Ziogoon,* permission to visit the capital was refused, and the Corean ambassadors were required to do homage to the Prince of Tsuzima, who is considered as the immediate superior of the Corea, and who is said to have a garrison as well as a factory in the peninsula. This the Coreans refused as a degradation, claiming admission to the court at Yedo and for several years the dispute remained unsettled, the homage or compliment unpaid. At length the expedient was devised of sending the Prince of Kokura, Grand Treasurer of Japan, accompanied by the Grand Accountant (the Japanese Chancellor of the Exchequer it is to be presumed), to Tsuzima, as especial representatives of the *Ziogoon,* to receive the Corean homage; and with this representation of majesty the embassy was content. The Yedo deputation visited Doeff at Dezima in the course of the journey, and from these grandees he learned the difficulty and its solution.

Note XVII.—Page 303.

It may be worth while to mention that the Coreans possess such dictionaries, in which the words are arranged by the matter, not the orthography, and are formed into stanzas, usually of six four-syllable lines, rhyming either in couplets or alternately. Another somewhat remarkable proof that literature, with the arts and sciences, as well as the religion of China, passed through Corea, now so far behind both empires in civilization, to Japan, belongs to this subject; inasmuch as it is that the Japanese dialect of Chinese closely resembles the Corean.

Note XVIII.—Page 313.

Possibly the combination may be neither by addition nor multiplication; may be, in fact, not arithmetical but graphic; to wit, the combination of the several Chinese characters denoting the names of the elements, and of the signs of the zodiac.

Note XIX.—Page 321.

A story told by Meylan of the proficiency of Japanese artists some two centuries ago, might startle those who had either read the opinions enunciated by almost all writers upon Japan, or looked at most of their plates. It is, that when the image-trampling ceremony was first instituted, there being a scarcity of European pictures of the Madonna and child for simultaneous spurning, a Japanese painter was ordered to make a copy of one of them; when the copy was not distinguishable from the original. It is to be observed, however, that the President never saw the copy in question, and that the *connoisseurs* who pronounced upon its undistinguishableness were Japanese. The portraits of the Portuguese discoverers, by showing the state of the graphic art in Japan much less than a century prior to the time when this copy must have been made, will enable the reader to appreciate the verisimilitude of the laudatory statement. But whatever were the merits of his performance, the painter was rewarded with decapitation—probably to guard against his supplying the native Christians with similar copies for a different purpose.

NOTE XX.—Page 321.

Dr. von Siebold's Japanese Museum is said to be far richer, and every way superior to the Japanese rooms in the Royal Museum at the Hague. Unfortunately when the writer of this volume visited Leyden, partly for the purpose of inspecting specimens of the arts, manufactures, and produce of Japan, reputed to be the finest in Europe, the museum was packed up for change of domicile, and the doctor himself absent.

NOTE XXI.—Page 323.

Grinding with a reed (or rush) sounds strange; but Fischer's words, *met een fijnen steen of bies af geslepen*, admit not of a different translation, the dictionary affording no other signification of *bies* than "rush" or "reed." If, indeed, we suppose the warehouse-master, or the interpreters through whom he must have obtained his information, to have included the bamboo in the *genus* reed, the difficulty will be considerably lessened.

Note XXII.—Page 346.

Such is the general character of Buddhism at the present day, and in Japan its essential idolatry appears to be now its principal and peculiar recommendation. But in common fairness such a statement should not be made, without adding, at least in a note, as a correction, the more favourable opinion of a late eminent Orientalist. Lieut.-Col. Tod strongly inclined to the opinion that Buddhism was originally monotheistic, and its idolatry a later corruption — even that Brahminism may have been another sectarian corruption of pure Buddhism. He speaks too of one monotheistic sect of Buddhists, still existing in Western India, which seems to have much analogy with the *Ikko-seu* Buddhists found by Siebold at Yagami.

Note XXIII.—Page 364.

It has been said that *zima* means an island; whence it follows that Siebold's expression "the island of Tanegazima" contains a tautological interpolation. But in translating a language, and in speaking of a country, so little known as Japan, such tautology could hardly be avoided at a less cost than that of perspicuity. It may here be added that some Japanese annalists speak earlier of *Nanban* ships — the name given to the Portuguese vessels a few lines lower; but the word *Nanban*, taken from the Chinese, being a generic designation for barbarians, *i.e.*, strangers, from the south, they may as well have meant vessels from the Indian peninsulas or archipelago, as from Europe.

Note XXIV.—Page 390.

The locality of their disaster the captives afterwards more accurately ascertained to be Olankai, lying to the north of Corea, and forming part of the Mantchoo government of Kirim.

PRINTED BY STEWART AND MURRAY, OLD BAILEY.

ALBEMARLE STREET, LONDON,
January, 1855.

MR. MURRAY'S

GENERAL LIST OF WORKS.

ABBOTT'S (REV. J.) Philip Musgrave; or, Memoirs of a Church of England Missionary in the North American Colonies. Post 8vo. 2*s.* 6*d.*

ABERCROMBIE'S (JOHN, M.D.) Enquiries concerning the Intellectual Powers and the Investigation of Truth. *Fourteenth Edition.* Fcap. 8vo. 6*s.* 6*d.*

———— Philosophy of the Moral Feelings. *Ninth Edition.* Fcap. 8vo. 4*s.*

———— Pathological and Practical Researches on the Diseases of the Stomach, the Intestinal Canal, the Liver, and other Viscera of the Abdomen. *Third Edition.* Fcap. 8vo. 6*s.*

ACLAND'S (REV. CHARLES) Popular Account of the Manners and Customs of India, Illustrated with Numerous Anecdotes. Post 8vo. 2*s.* 6*d.*

ADDISON'S WORKS. A New Edition, with a New Life and Notes. By Rev. WHITWELL ELWIN. 4 Vols. 8vo. *In Preparation.*

ÆSCHYLUS. (The Agamemnon and Choephoræ). *A New Edition* of the Text, with Notes, Critical, Explanatory, and Philological, for the Use of Students. By Rev. W. PEILE, D.D.. *Second Edition.* 2 Vols. 8vo. 9*s.* each.

ÆSOP'S FABLES. A New Version, chiefly from the Original Greek. By Rev. THOMAS JAMES, M.A. Illustrated with 100 Woodcuts, by JOHN TENNIEL. 21*st Edition.* Post 8vo. 2*s.* 6*d.*

AGRICULTURAL (THE) JOURNAL. Published (half-yearly) by the Royal Agricultural Society of England. 8vo. 10*s.*

AMBER-WITCH (THE). The most interesting Trial for Witchcraft ever known. Edited by Dr. MEINHOLD. Translated from the German by LADY DUFF GORDON. Post 8vo. 2*s.* 6*d.*

ARABIAN NIGHTS. A New Translation. By E. W. LANE. With Explanatory Notes. 600 Woodcuts. Medium 8vo. 21*s.*

ARISTOPHANES. The Birds and the Clouds. Translated from SUVERN by W. R. HAMILTON, F.R.S. 2 Vols. Post 8vo. 9*s.*

ARTHUR'S (LITTLE) History of England. By LADY CALLCOTT. *Seventeenth Edition.* Woodcuts. 18mo.

AUNT IDA'S Walks and Talks; a Story Book for Children. By a LADY. Woodcuts. 16mo. 5*s.*

ADMIRALTY PUBLICATIONS; Issued by direction of the Lords Commissioners of the Admiralty:—

1. A MANUAL OF SCIENTIFIC ENQUIRY, for the Use of Officers in H.M. Navy and Travellers in General. By Various Hands. Edited by SIR J. F. HERSCHEL, Bart. *Second Edition.* Post 8vo. 10*s.* 6*d.*
2. AIRY'S ASTRONOMICAL OBSERVATIONS MADE AT GREENWICH. 1836 to 1847. Royal 4to. 50*s.* each.
3. —— APPENDIX TO THE ASTRONOMICAL OBSERVATIONS. 1836, 1837, 1842, 8*s.* each; and 1847, 14*s.* Royal 4to.

CONTENTS.

1836.—Bessel's Refraction Tables.
Tables for converting Errors of R.A. and N.P.D. into Errors of Longitude and Ecliptic P.D.
1837.—Logarithms of Sines and Cosines to every Ten Seconds of Time.
Table for converting Sidereal into Mean Solar Time.
1842.—Catalogue of 1439 Stars.
1847.—Twelve Years' Catalogue of Stars.

4. —— MAGNETICAL AND METEOROLOGICAL OBSERVATIONS. 1840 to 1847. Royal 4to. 50*s.* each.
5. —— ASTRONOMICAL, MAGNETICAL, AND METEOROLOGICAL OBSERVATIONS, 1848 to 1852. Royal 4to. 50*s.* each.
6. —— REDUCTION OF THE OBSERVATIONS OF PLANETS. 1750 to 1830. Royal 4to. 50*s.*
7. ———————— LUNAR OBSERVATIONS. 1750 to 1830. 2 Vols. Royal 4to. 50*s.* each.
8. BERNOULLI'S SEXCENTENARY TABLE. *London*, 1779. 4to. 5*s.*
9. BESSEL'S AUXILIARY TABLES FOR HIS METHOD OF CLEARING LUNAR DISTANCES. 8vo.
10. —— FUNDAMENTA ASTRONOMIÆ: *Regiomonti*. 1818. Folio. 60*s.*
11. BIRD'S METHOD OF CONSTRUCTING MURAL QUADRANTS. *London*, 1768. 4to. 2*s.* 6*d.*
12. —— METHOD OF DIVIDING ASTRONOMICAL INSTRUMENTS. *London*, 1767. 4to. 2*s.* 6*d.*
13. COOK, KING, AND BAYLY'S ASTRONOMICAL OBSERVATIONS *London*, 1782. 4to. 21*s.*
14. EIFFE'S ACCOUNT OF IMPROVEMENTS IN CHRONOMETERS. 4to. 2*s.*
15. ENCKE'S BERLINER JAHRBUCH, for 1830. *Berlin*, 1828. 8vo. 9*s.*
16. GROOMBRIDGE'S CATALOGUE OF CIRCUMPOLAR STARS. 4to. 10*s.*
17. HARRISON'S PRINCIPLES OF HIS TIME-KEEPER. PLATES 1767. 4to. 5*s.*
18. HUTTON'S TABLES OF THE PRODUCTS AND POWERS OF NUMBERS. 1781. Folio. 7*s.* 6*d.*
19. LAX'S TABLES FOR FINDING THE LATITUDE AND LONGITUDE. 1821. 8vo. 10*s.*
20. LUNAR OBSERVATIONS at GREENWICH. 1783 to 1819. Compared with the Tables, 1821. 4to. 7*s.* 6*d.*
21. —— DISTANCES of the MOON'S CENTRE from the PLANETS. 1822, 3*s.*; 1823, 4*s.* 6*d.* 1824 to 1835. 8vo. 4*s.* each.
22. MASKELYNE'S ACCOUNT OF THE GOING OF HARRISON'S WATCH. 1767. 4to. 2*s.* 6*d.*
23. MAYER'S THEORIA LUNÆ JUXTA SYSTEMA NEWTONIANUM. 4to. 2*s.* 6*d.*
24. —— TABULÆ MOTUUM SOLIS ET LUNÆ. 1770. 4to. 5*s.*
25. —— ASTRONOMICAL OBSERVATIONS MADE AT GOTTINGEN, from 1756 to 1761. 1826. Folio. 7*s.* 6*d.*

Admiralty Publications—*continued.*

26. NAUTICAL ALMANACS, from 1767 to 1858. 8vo. 2*s.* 6*d.* each.

27. ———— SELECTIONS FROM THE ADDITIONS up to 1812. 8vo. 5*s.* 1834-54. 8vo. 5*s.*

28. ———— SUPPLEMENTS, 1828 to 1833, 1837 and 1838. 8vo. 2*s.* each.

29. ———— TABLE requisite to be used with the N.A. 1781. 8vo. 5*s.*

30. POND'S ASTRONOMICAL OBSERVATIONS. 1811 to 1835. 4to. 21*s.* each.

31. RAMSDEN'S ENGINE for Dividing Mathematical Instruments. 4to. 5*s.*

32. ———— ENGINE for Dividing Straight Lines. 4to. 5*s.*

33. SABINE'S PENDULUM EXPERIMENTS to Determine the Figure of the Earth. 1825. 4to. 40*s.*

34. SHEPHERD'S TABLES for Correcting Lunar Distances. 1772. Royal 4to. 21*s.*

35. ———— TABLES, GENERAL, of the MOON'S DISTANCE from the SUN, and 10 STARS. 1787. Folio. 5*s.* 6*d.*

36. TAYLOR'S SEXAGESIMAL TABLE. 1780. 4to. 15*s.*

37. ———— TABLES OF LOGARITHMS. 4to. 3*l.*

38. TIARK'S ASTRONOMICAL OBSERVATIONS for the Longitude of Madeira. 1822. 4to. 5*s.*

39. ———— CHRONOMETRICAL OBSERVATIONS for Differences of Longitude between Dover, Portsmouth, and Falmouth. 1823. 4to. 5*s.*

40. VENUS and JUPITER: Observations of, compared with the Tables. *London*, 1822. 4to. 2*s.*

41. WALES' AND BAYLY'S ASTRONOMICAL OBSERVATIONS. 1777. 4to. 21*s.*

42. WALES' REDUCTION OF ASTRONOMICAL OBSERVATIONS made in the Southern Hemisphere. 1764—1771. 1788. 4to. 10*s.* 6*d.*

AUSTIN'S (Sarah) Fragments from German Prose Writers. Translated, with Biographical Notes. Post 8vo. 10*s.*

———— Translation of Ranke's Political and Ecclesiastical History of the Popes of Rome. *Third Edition.* 2 Vols. 8vo. 24*s.*

BABBAGE'S (Charles) Economy of Machinery and Manufactures. *Fourth Edition.* Fcap. 8vo. 6*s.*

———— Table of the Logarithms of the Natural Numbers from 1 to 108000. *Fourth Edition.* Royal 8vo. 6*s.*

———— Ninth Bridgewater Treatise. *Second Edition.* 8vo. 9*s.* 6*d.*

———— Reflections on the Decline of Science in England, and on some of its Causes. 4to. 15*s.*

———— Exposition of 1851; or, Views of the Industry, the Science, and the Government of England. *Second Edition.* 8vo. 7*s.* 6*d.*

BANKES' (Right Hon. G.) Story of Corfe Castle, with documents relating to the Time of the Civil Wars, &c. Woodcuts. Post 8vo. 10*s.* 6*d.*

BASSOMPIERRE'S Memoirs of his Embassy to the Court of England in 1626. Translated, with Notes. 8vo. 9*s.* 6*d.*

BARROW'S (Sir John) Autobiographical Memoir, including Reflections, Observations, and Reminiscences at Home and Abroad. From Early Life to Advanced Age. Portrait. 8vo. 16*s.*

——— Voyages of Discovery and Research within the Arctic Regions, from 1818 to the present time, in search of a North-West Passage: with Two Attempts to reach the North Pole. Abridged and arranged from the Official Narratives. 8vo. 15*s.*

——— (John) Naval Worthies of Queen Elizabeth's Reign, their Gallant Deeds, Daring Adventures, and Services in the infant state of the British Navy. 8vo. 14*s.*

——— Life and Voyages of Sir Francis Drake. With numerous Original Letters. Post 8vo. 2*s.* 6*d.*

BEES AND FLOWERS. Two Essays, by a Clergyman, reprinted from the "Quarterly Review." Fcap. 8vo. 1*s.* each.

BELL'S (Sir Charles) Anatomy and Philosophy of Expression as connected with the Fine Arts. *Fourth Edition.* Plates. Impl. 8vo. 21*s.*

——— Mechanism and Vital Endowments of the Hand as evincing Design. The Bridgewater Treatise. *Fifth Edition.* Plates. Post 8vo. 7*s.* 6*d.*

BENEDICT'S (Jules) Sketch of the Life and Works of Felix Mendelssohn Bartholdy. *Second Edition.* 8vo. 2*s.* 6*d.*

BERTHA'S Journal during a Visit to her Uncle in England. Containing a Variety of Interesting and Instructive Information. *Seventh Edition.* Woodcuts. 12mo. 7*s.* 6*d.*

——— The Heiress in her Minority; or, the Progress of Character. By Author of "Bertha's Journal." 2 Vols. 12mo.

BIRCH'S (Samuel) History of Ancient Pottery: Egyptian, Asiatic, Greek, Roman, Etruscan, and Celtic. With Illustrations. 8vo. (*Nearly Ready.*)

BIRT'S (W. R.) Hurricane Guide. Being an Attempt to connect the Rotatory Gale, or Revolving Storm, with Atmospheric Waves. With Circles on Cards. Post 8vo. 3*s.*

BIOSCOPE (The); or, the Dial of Life explained. By Granville Penn. *Second Edition.* With Plate. 12mo. 12*s.*

BLAINE (Roberton) on the Laws of Artistic Copyright and their Defects, for Artists, Engravers, Printsellers, &c. 8vo. 3*s.* 6*d.*

BLUNT'S (Rev. J. J.) Undesigned Coincidences in the Writings of the Old and New Testament, an Argument of their Veracity: with an Appendix containing Undesigned Coincidences between the Gospels, Acts, and Josephus. *Fourth Edition.* 8vo. 9*s.*

——— Principles for the proper understanding of the Mosaic Writings, stated and applied, together with an Incidental Argument for the truth of the Resurrection of our Lord. Being the Hulsean Lectures for 1832. Post 8vo. 6*s.* 6*d.*

BOOK OF COMMON PRAYER. With 1000 Illustrations of Borders, Initials, and Woodcut Vignettes. *A New Edition.* Medium 8vo. 21*s.* cloth, 31*s.* 6*d.* calf, or 42*s.* morocco.

BOSWELL'S (James) Life of Dr. Samuel Johnson. Including the Tour to the Hebrides, with Notes by Sir W. Scott. Edited by the Right Hon. John Wilson Croker. *A New Edition, with much additional Matter.* Portraits. One Volume Royal 8vo. 15*s.*

BORROW'S (GEORGE) Lavengro; The Scholar—The Gipsy—and the Priest. Portrait. 3 Vols. Post 8vo. 30*s.*

——— Bible in Spain; or the Journeys, Adventures, and Imprisonments of an Englishman in an Attempt to circulate the Scriptures in the Peninsula. 3 Vols. Post 8vo. 27*s.*, or *Cheap Edition*, 16mo, 5*s.*

——— Zincali, or the Gipsies of Spain; their Manners, Customs, Religion, and Language. 2 Vols. Post 8vo. 18*s.*, or *Cheap Edition*, 16mo. 5*s.*

BRAY'S (MRS.) Life of Thomas Stothard, R.A. With Personal Reminiscences. Illustrated with Portrait and 60 Woodcuts of his chief works. 4to. 21*s.*

BREWSTER'S (SIR DAVID) Martyrs of Science, or the Lives of Galileo, Tycho Brahe, and Kepler. *Second Edition.* Fcap. 8vo. 4*s.* 6*d.*

——— More Worlds than One. The Creed of the Philosopher and the Hope of the Christian. *Sixth Edition.* Post 8vo. 6*s.*

BRITISH CLASSICS. A New Series of Standard English Authors, printed from the most correct text, and edited with elucidatory notes. Published in Monthly Volumes, demy 8vo., 7*s.* 6*d.* each.

Already Published.

GOLDSMITH'S WORKS. Edited by PETER CUNNINGHAM, F.S.A. Vignettes. 4 Vols.

GIBBON'S DECLINE AND FALL OF THE ROMAN EMPIRE. Edited by WILLIAM SMITH, LL.D. Portrait and Maps. 8 Vols.

JOHNSON'S LIVES OF THE ENGLISH POETS. Edited with Notes. By PETER CUNNINGHAM, F.S.A.

In Preparation.

WORKS OF ALEXANDER POPE. Edited by the RIGHT HON. JOHN WILSON CROKER. Assisted by PETER CUNNINGHAM, F.S.A.

WORKS OF DRYDEN. Edited with Notes.

HUME'S HISTORY OF ENGLAND. A new Edition, carefully revised throughout, with Notes and Commentations, to correct his errors and supply his deficiencies.

WORKS OF SWIFT. Edited with Notes.

POETICAL WORKS OF LORD BYRON. Edited, with Notes.

WORKS OF JOSEPH ADDISON. Edited, with Notes.

BRITISH ASSOCIATION REPORTS. 8vo. York and Oxford, 1831-32, 13*s.* 6*d.* Cambridge, 1833, 12*s.* Edinburgh, 1834, 15*s.* Dublin, 1835, 13*s.* 6*d.* Bristol, 1836, 12*s.* Liverpool, 1837, 16*s.* 6*d.* Newcastle, 1838, 15*s.* Birmingham, 1839, 13. 6*d.* Glasgow, 1840, 15*s.* Plymouth, 1841, 13*s.* 6*d.* Manchester, 1842, 10*s.* 6*d.* Cork, 1843, 12*s.* York, 1844, 20*s.* Cambridge, 1845, 12*s.* Southampton, 1846, 15*s.* Oxford, 1847, 18*s.* Swansea, 1848, 9*s.* Birmingham, 1849, 10*s.* Edinburgh, 1850, 15*s.* Ipswich, 1851, 16*s.* 6*d.* Belfast, 1852, 15*s.* Hull, 1853, 10*s.* 6*d.*

BROGDEN'S (REV. JAS.) Illustrations of the Liturgy and Ritual of the United Church of England and Ireland. Being Sermons and Discourses selected from the Works of eminent Divines of the 17th Century. 3 Vols. Post 8vo. 27*s.*

——— Catholic Safeguards against the Errors, Corruptions, and Novelties of the Church of Rome. Being Sermons and Tracts selected from the Works of eminent Divines of the 17th Century. *Second Edition* With Preface and Index. 3 Vols. 8vo. 36*s.*

BROOKE'S (Sir James) Journals of Events in Borneo, including the Occupation of Labuan, and a Visit to the Celebes. Together with the Expedition of H.M.S. Iris. By Capt. Rodney Mundy, R.N. Plates. 2 Vols. 8vo. 32*s.*

BROUGHTON'S (Lord) Journey through Albania and other Provinces of Turkey in Europe and Asia, to Constantinople, 1809—10. *New Edition.* 2 Vols. 8vo.

BUBBLES FROM THE BRUNNEN OF NASSAU. By an Old Man. *Sixth Edition.* 16mo.

BUNBURY'S (C. J. F.) Journal of a Residence at the Cape of Good Hope; with Excursions into the Interior, and Notes on the Natural History and Native Tribes of the Country. Woodcuts. Post 8vo. 9*s.*

BUNYAN (John) and Oliver Cromwell. Select Biographies. By Robert Southey. Post 8vo. 2*s.* 6*d.*

BURGHERSH'S (Lord) Memoir of the Operations of the Allied Armies under Prince Schwarzenberg and Marshal Blucher during the latter end of 1813-14. 8vo. 21*s.*

———— Early Campaigns of the Duke of Wellington in Portugal and Spain. 8vo. 8*s.* 6*d.*

BURN'S (Lieut.-Col.) French and English Dictionary of Naval and Military Technical Terms. *Third Edition.* Crown 8vo. 15*s.*

BURNES' (Sir Alexander) Journey to the City of Cabool. *Second Edition.* Plates. 8vo. 18*s.*

BURNS' (Robert) Life. By John Gibson Lockhart. *Fifth Edition.* Fcap. 8vo. 3*s.*

BURR'S (G. D.) Instructions in Practical Surveying, Topographical Plan-drawing, and on sketching ground without Instruments. *Second Edition.* Woodcuts. Post 8vo. 7*s.* 6*d.*

BUXTON'S (Sir Fowell) Memoirs. With Selections from his Correspondence. By his Son. *Fourth Edition.* 8vo. 16*s.*; or, *Popular Edition.* Post 8vo. 8*s.* 6*d.*

BYRON'S (Lord) Life and Letters. By Thomas Moore. Plates. 6 Vols. Fcap. 8vo. 18*s.* Or, One Volume, royal 8vo 12*s.*

———— Poetical Works. Plates. 10 Vols. Fcap. 8vo. 30*s.* Or, One Volume. Royal 8vo. 12*s.*

———— Pocket Edition. 8 Vols. 24mo. 20*s.*

Sold separately as follows, Price 2*s.* 6*d. each volume;*

Childe Harold.
Dramas, 2 Vols.
Tales and Poems.
Miscellanies, 2 Vols.
Beppo and Don Juan, 2 Vols.

———— Childe Harold's Pilgrimage. Illustrated Edition. With 30 Vignettes. Crown 8vo. 10*s.* 6*d.*

———— Beauties—Poetry and Prose. Fcap. 8vo. 3*s.*

BUTTMAN'S LEXILOGUS; or, a Critical Examination of the Meaning and Etymology of numerous Greek Words and Passages, intended principally for Homer and Hesiod. Translated, and edited, with Explanatory Notes and copious Indexes, by Rev. J. R. Fishlake. *Third Edition.* 8vo. 14*s.*

BUTTMAN'S Catalogue of Irregular Greek Verbs; With all the Tenses extant—their Formation, Meaning, and Usage, accompanied by an Index. Translated, with Notes, by REV. J. R. FISHLAKE. *Second Edition.* 8vo. 7s. 6d.

CALVIN'S (JOHN) Life. With Extracts from his Correspondence. By THOMAS H. DYER. Portrait. 8vo. 15s.

CALLCOTT'S (LADY) Little Arthur's History of England. *Seventeenth Edition.* Woodcuts. 18mo. 2s. 6d.

CARÈME'S FRENCH COOKERY. Translated by W. HALL. *Second Edition.* Plates. 8vo. 15s.

CARMICHAEL'S (A. N.) Greek Verbs. Their Formations, Irregularities, and Defects. *Second Edition.* Post 8vo. 8s. 6d.

CARNARVON'S (LORD) Portugal, Gallicia, and the Basque Provinces. From Notes made during a Journey to those Countries. *Third Edition.* Post 8vo. 5s.

CAMPBELL'S (LORD) Lives of the Lord Chancellors and Keepers of the Great Seal of England. From the Earliest Times to the Death of Lord Eldon in 1838. *Third Edition.* 7 Vols. 8vo. 102s.

———— Lives of the Chief Justices of England. From the Norman Conquest to the Death of Lord Mansfield. 2 Vols. 8vo. 30s.

———— Life of Lord Bacon. Reprinted from the Lives of the Chancellors. Fcap. 8vo. 2s.

———— (GEORGE). Modern India. A Sketch of the System of Civil Government. With some Account of the Natives and Native Institutions. *Second Edition.* 8vo. 16s.

———— India as it may be. An Outline of a proposed Government and Policy. 8vo. 12s.

———— (THOS.) Specimens of the British Poets. With Biographical and Critical Notices, and an Essay on English Poetry. *Third Edition.* Portrait. Royal 8vo. 15s.

———— Short Lives of the British Poets. With an Essay on English Poetry. Post 8vo. 5s.

CASTLEREAGH (THE) DESPATCHES, from the commencement of the official career of the late Viscount Castlereagh to the close of his life. Edited by the MARQUIS OF LONDONDERRY. 12 Vols. 8vo. 14s. each.

CATHCART'S (SIR GEORGE) Commentaries on the War in Russia and Germany, 1812-13. Plans. 8vo. 14s.

CEYLON. An Historical and Descriptive Account of its Past and Present Condition. Post 8vo.

CHARMED ROE (THE); or, The Story of the Little Brother and Sister. By OTTO SPECKTER. Plates. 16mo. 5s.

CLARENDON (LORD CHANCELLOR); Lives of his Friends and Contemporaries, illustrative of Portraits in his Gallery. By Lady THERESA LEWIS. Portraits. 3 Vols. 8vo. 42s.

CLARK (SIR JAMES) On the Sanative Influence of Climate, with an Account of the Best Places for Invalids in the South of Europe, &c. *Fourth Edition.* Post 8vo. 10s. 6d.

CLAUSEWITZ'S (GENERAL CARL VON) Campaign of 1812, in Russia. Translated from the German. Map. 8vo. 10s. 6d.

CLIVE'S (Lord) Life. By Rev. G. R. Gleig, M.A. Post 8vo. 5*s.*

COLERIDGE'S (Samuel Taylor) Table-Talk. *Fourth Edition.* Portrait. Fcap. 8vo. 6*s.*

———— (Henry Nelson) Introductions to the Study of the Greek Classic Poets. *Third Edition.* Fcap. 8vo. 5*s.* 6*d.*

COLONIAL LIBRARY. [See Home and Colonial Library.]

COMBER'S (Dean) Friendly Advice to the Roman Catholics of England. By Rev. Dr. Hook. Fcap. 8vo. 3*s.*

COOKERY (Domestic). Founded on Principles of Economy and Practical Knowledge, and adapted for Private Families. *New and Cheaper Edition.* Woodcuts. Fcap. 8vo. 5*s.*

CRABBE'S (Rev. George) Life and Letters. By his Son. Portrait. Fcap. 8vo. 3*s.*

———— Life and Poetical Works. Plates. 8 Vols. Fcap. 8vo. 24*s.*; or, One Volume. Royal 8vo. 10*s.* 6*d.*

CUMMING'S (R. Gordon) Five Years of a Hunter's Life in the Far Interior of South Africa. *Fourth and Cheaper Edition.* With Woodcuts. 2 Vols. Post 8vo. 12*s.*

CURZON'S (Hon. Robert) Visits to the Monasteries of the Levant. *Fourth Edition.* Woodcuts. Post 8vo. 15*s.*

———— Armenia and Erzeroum. A Year on the Frontiers of Russia, Turkey, and Persia. *Third Edition.* Map and Woodcuts. Post 8vo. 7*s.* 6*d.*

CUNNINGHAM'S (Allan) Life of Sir David Wilkie. With his Journals, and Critical Remarks on Works of Art. Portrait. 3 Vols. 8vo. 42*s.*

———— Poems and Songs. Now first collected and arranged, with Biographical Notice. 24mo. 2*s.* 6*d.*

———— (Capt. J. D.) History of the Sikhs. From the Origin of the Nation to the Battle of the Sutlej. *Second Edition.* Maps. 8vo. 15*s.*

———— (Peter) London—Past and Present. A Handbook to the Antiquities, Curiosities, Churches, Works of Art, Public Buildings, and Places connected with interesting and historical associations. *Second Edition.* Post 8vo. 16*s.*

———— Modern London. A complete Guide for Visitors to the Metropolis. Map. 16mo. 5*s.*

———— Environs of London. Including a circle of 25 miles round St. Paul's. With Hints for Excursions by Rail,—Road,—and River. Post 8vo. *In the Press.*

———— Westminster Abbey. Its Art, Architecture, and Associations. Woodcuts. Fcap. 8vo. 1*s.*

———— Works of Oliver Goldsmith. A New Edition now first printed from the last editions which passed under the Author's own eye. Vignettes. 4 vols. 8vo. 30*s.*

———— Lives of Eminent English Poets. By Samuel Johnson, D.D. A New Edition, with Notes. 3 vols. 8vo. 22*s.* 6*d.*

CROKER'S (Right Hon. J. W.) Progressive Geography for Children. *Fourth Edition.* 18mo. 1*s.* 6*d.*

——— Stories for Children Selected from the History of England. *Fifteenth Edition.* Woodcuts. 16mo. 2*s.* 6*d.*

——— Boswell's Life of Johnson. Including the Tour to the Hebrides. *A New Edition.* Portraits. Royal 8vo. 15*s.*

——— Lord Hervey's Memoirs of the Reign of George the Second, from his accession to the death of Queen Caroline. Edited with Notes. *Second and Cheaper Edition.* Portrait. 2 Vols. 8vo. 21*s.*

——— History of the Guillotine. Woodcuts. Fcap. 8vo. 1*s.*

CROMWELL (Oliver) and John Bunyan. Select Biographies. By Robert Southey. Post 8vo. 2*s.* 6*d.*

DARWIN'S (Charles) Journal of Researches into the Natural History and Geology of the Countries visited during a Voyage round the World. Post 8vo. 7*s.* 6*d.*

DAVY'S (Sir Humphry) Consolations in Travel; or, Last Days of a Philosopher. *Fifth Edition.* Woodcuts. Fcap. 8vo. 6*s.*

——— Salmonia; or, Days of Fly Fishing. With some Account of the Habits of Fishes belonging to the genus Salmo. *Fourth Edition.* Woodcuts. Fcap. 8vo. 6*s.*

DENNIS' (George) Cities and Cemeteries of Etruria; or, the extant Local Remains of Etruscan Art. Plates. 2 Vols. 8vo. 42*s.*

——— Summer in Andalusia. New Edition. Post 8vo. *In the Press.*

DEVEREUX'S (Hon. Capt., R.N.) Lives and Letters of the Devereux Earls of Essex, in the Reigns of Elizabeth, James I., and Charles I., 1540—1646. Chiefly from unpublished documents. Portraits. 2 Vols. 8vo. 30*s.*

DODGSON'S (Rev. C.) Controversy of Faith; or, Advice to Candidates for Holy Orders. Containing an Analysis and Exposition of the Argument by which the Catholic Interpretation of the Baptismal Services is to be vindicated. 12mo. 3*s.*

DOG-BREAKING; the Most Expeditious, Certain, and Easy Method, whether great excellence or only mediocrity be required. By Lieut.-Col. Hutchinson. *Second Edition.* Woodcuts. Fcap. 8vo. 7*s.* 6*d.*

DOMESTIC MODERN COOKERY. Founded on Principles of Economy and Practical Knowledge, and adapted for Private Families. *New and Cheaper Edition.* Woodcuts. Fcap. 8vo. 5*s.*

DOUGLAS'S (General Sir Howard) Treatise on the Theory and Practice of Gunnery. *Fourth Edition.* Plates. 8vo. 21*s.*

——— Treatise on the Principle and Construction of Military Bridges, and the Passage of Rivers in Military Operations. *Third Edition.* Plates. 8vo. 21*s.*

DRAKE'S (Sir Francis) Life, Voyages, and Exploits, by Sea and Land. By John Barrow. *Third Edition.* Post 8vo. 2*s.* 6*d.*

DRINKWATER'S (John) History of the Siege of Gibraltar. 1779-1783. With a Description and Account of that Garrison from the Earliest Periods. Post 8vo. 2*s.* 6*d.*

DRYDEN'S (John) Works. A New Edition, based upon Sir Walter Scott's Edition, entirely revised. 8vo. *In Preparation.*

DUDLEY'S (Earl of) Letters to the late Bishop of Llandaff. *Second Edition.* Portrait. 8vo. 10s. 6d.

DURHAM'S (Admiral Sir Philip) Naval Life and Services. By Capt. Alexander Murray. 8vo. 5s. 6d.

DYER'S (Thomas H.) Life and Letters of John Calvin. Compiled from authentic Sources. Portrait. 8vo. 15s.

EASTLAKE (Sir Charles) The Schools of Painting in Italy. From the Earliest times. From the German of Kugler. Edited, with Notes. *Third Edition.* Illustrated with 100 Engravings from the Old Masters. 2 Vols. Post 8vo,

———— Contributions to the Literature of the Fine Arts. 8vo. 12s.

EDWARDS' (W. H.) Voyage up the River Amazon, including a Visit to Para. Post 8vo. 2s. 6d.

EGERTON'S (Hon. Capt. Francis) Journal of a Winter's Tour in India; with a Visit to Nepaul. Woodcuts. 2 Vols. Post 8vo. 18s.

ELDON'S (Lord Chancellor) Public and Private Life, with Selections from his Correspondence and Diaries. By Horace Twiss. *Third Edition.* Portrait. 2 Vols. Post 8vo. 21s.

ELLESMERE'S (Lord) Two Sieges of Vienna by the Turks. Translated from the German. Post 8vo. 2s. 6d.

———— Second Campaign of Radetzky in Piedmont. The Defence of Temeswar and the Camp of the Ban. From the German. Post 8vo, 6s. 6d.

———— Life and Character of the Duke of Wellington; a Discourse. *Second Edition.* Fcap. 8vo. 6d.

———— Campaign of 1812 in Russia, from the German of General Carl Von Clausewitz. Map. 8vo. 10s. 6d.

———— The Pilgrimage, the 18th of November, and other Poems. Post 8vo.

ELPHINSTONE'S (Hon. Mountstuart) History of India—the Hindoo and Mahomedan Periods. *Third Edition.* Map. 8vo. 18s.

ELWIN'S (Rev. W.) Lives of Eminent British Poets. From Chaucer to Wordsworth. 4 Vols. 8vo. *In Preparation.*

ENGLAND (History of) From the Peace of Utrecht to the Peace of Versailles, 1713—83. By Lord Mahon. *Library Edition,* 7 Vols., 8vo, 93s.; or, *Popular Edition,* 7 Vols. Post 8vo, 42s.

———— From the First Invasion by the Romans, down to the 14th year of Queen Victoria's Reign. By Mrs. Markham. 68*th Thousand.* Woodcuts. 12mo. 6s.

———— As it is: Social, Political, and Industrial, in the Middle of the 19th Century. By W. Johnston. 2 Vols. Post 8vo. 18s.

———— and France under the House of Lancaster. With an Introductory View of the Early Reformation. 8vo. 15s.

ERSKINE'S (Capt., R.N.) Journal of a Cruise among the Islands of the Western Pacific, including the Fejees and others inhabited by the Polynesian Negro Races. Plates. 8vo. 16*s.*

ESKIMAUX (The) and English Vocabulary, for the use of Travellers in the Arctic Regions. 16mo. 3*s.* 6*d.*

ESSAYS FROM "THE TIMES." Being a Selection from the Literary Papers which have appeared in that Journal. *6th Thousand.* 2 vols. Fcap. 8vo. 8*s.*

ENGLISHWOMAN IN RUSSIA: or, Impressions of Manners and Society during a Ten Years' Residence in that Country. Wood cuts. Post 8vo. 10*s* 6*d.*

EXETER'S (Bishop of) Letters to the late Charles Butler, on the Theological parts of his Book of the Roman Catholic Church; with Remarks on certain Works of Dr. Milner and Dr. Lingard, and on some parts of the Evidence of Dr. Doyle. *Second Edition.* 8vo. 16*s.*

FAIRY RING (The), A Collection of Tales and Stories for Young Persons. From the German. By J. E. Taylor. Illustrated by Richard Doyle. *Second Edition.* Fcap. 8vo.

FALKNER'S (Fred.) Muck Manual for the Use of Farmers. A Treatise on the Nature and Value of Manures. *Second Edition*, with a Glossary of Terms and an Index. Fcap. 8vo. 5*s.*

FAMILY RECEIPT-BOOK. A Collection of a Thousand Valuable and Useful Receipts. Fcap. 8vo. 5*s.* 6*d.*

FANCOURT'S (Col.) History of Yucatan, from its Discovery to the Close of the 17th Century. With Map. 8vo. 10*s.* 6*d.*

FARINI'S (Luigi Carlo) History of the Roman State, 1815-50. Translated from the Italian. By Right Hon. W. E. Gladstone. Vols. 3 & 4. 8vo. 12*s.* each.

FEATHERSTONHAUGH'S (G. W.) Tour through the Slave States of North America, from the River Potomac, to Texas and the Frontiers of Mexico. Plates. 2 Vols. 8vo. 26*s.*

FELLOWS' (Sir Charles) Travels and Researches in Asia Minor, more particularly in the Province of Lycia. *New Edition.* Plates. Post 8vo. 9*s.*

FERGUSON'S (Robert, M.D.) Essays on the Diseases of Women. Part I. Puerperal Fever. Post 8vo. 9*s.* 6*d.*

FERGUSSON'S (James) Palaces of Nineveh and Persepolis Restored: an Essay on Ancient Assyrian and Persian Architecture. With 45 Woodcuts. 8vo. 16*s.*

——— Peril of Portsmouth; or French Fleets and English Forts. *Third Edition.* Plan. 8vo. 3*s.*

——— Handbook of Architecture. Being a Concise and Popular Account of the Different Styles prevailing in all Ages and Countries in the World. With a Description of the most remarkable Buildings. With 1000 Illustrations. 8vo. *In the Press.*

FEUERBACH'S Remarkable German Crimes and Trials. Translated from the German by Lady Duff Gordon. 8vo. 12*s.*

FISHER'S (Rev. George) Elements of Geometry, for the Use of Schools. *Third Edition.* 18mo. 3*s.*

——— First Principles of Algebra, for the Use of Schools. *Third Edition.* 18mo. 3*s.*

FISHLAKE'S (Rev. J. R.) Translation of Buttman's Lexilogus; A Critical Examination of the Meaning and Etymology of numerous Greek Words and Passages, intended principally for Homer and Hesiod. With Explanatory Notes and Copious Indexes. *Third Edition.* 8vo. 14*s.*

——— Translation of Buttman's Catalogue of Irregular Greek Verbs; with all the Tenses extant—their Formation, Meaning, and Usage. With Explanatory Notes, and accompanied by an Index. *Second Edition.* 8vo. 7*s.* 6*d.*

FLOWER GARDEN (The). An Essay reprinted from the "Quarterly Review." Fcap. 8vo. 1*s.*

FORD'S (Richard) Handbook for Spain, Andalusia, Ronda, Valencia. Catalonia, Granada, Gallicia, Arragon, Navarre, &c. *Third and entirely Revised Edition.* 2 Vols. Post 8vo.

——— Gatherings from Spain. Post 8vo. 6*s.*

FORSYTH'S (William) Hortensius, or the Advocate: an Historical Essay on the Office and Duties of an Advocate. Post 8vo. 12*s.*

——— History of Napoleon at St. Helena. From the Letters and Journals of Sir Hudson Lowe. Portrait and Maps. 3 Vols. 8vo. 45*s.*

FORTUNE'S (Robert) Narrative of Two Visits to China, between the years 1843-52, with full Descriptions of the Culture of the Tea Plant. *Third Edition.* Woodcuts. 2 Vols. Post 8vo. 18*s.*

FRANCE (History of). From the Conquest by the Gauls to the Death of Louis Philippe. By Mrs. Markham. *30th Thousand.* Woodcuts. 12mo. 6*s.*

FRENCH (The) in Algiers; The Soldier of the Foreign Legion—and the Prisoners of Abd-el-Kadir. Translated by Lady Duff Gordon. Post 8vo. 2*s.* 6*d.*

GALTON'S (Francis) Art of Travel; or, Hints on the Shifts and Contrivances available in Wild Countries. Woodcuts. Post 8vo. 6*s.*

GEOGRAPHICAL (The) Journal. Published by the Royal Geographical Society of London. 8vo.

GERMANY (History of). From the Invasion by Marius, to the present time. On the plan of Mrs. Markham. *6th Thousand.* Woodcuts. 12mo. 6*s.*

GIBBON'S (Edward) Life and Correspondence. By Dean Milman. Portrait. 8vo. 9*s.*

——— Decline and Fall of the Roman Empire. *A New Edition.* Preceded by the Autobiography of Gibbon. Edited with Notes by Dr. Wm. Smith. Portrait and Maps. 8 Vols. 8vo. 60*s.*

GIFFARD'S (Edward) Deeds of Naval Daring; or, Anecdotes of the British Navy. 2 Vols. Fcap. 8vo. 5*s.*

GISBORNE'S (Thomas) Essays on Agriculture. *Third Edition.* Post 8vo. 5*s.*

GLADSTONE'S (Right Hon. W. E.) Prayers arranged from the Liturgy for Family Use. *Second Edition.* 12mo. 2*s.* 6*d.*

——— History of the Roman State. Translated from the Italian of Luigi Carlo Farini. Vols. 3 and 4. 8vo. 12*s.* each.

GOLDSMITH'S (Oliver) Works. A New Edition. Printed from the last editions revised by the Author. Edited by Peter Cunningham. Vignettes. 4 Vols. 8vo. 30*s.*

GLEIG'S (Rev. G. R.) Campaigns of the British Army at Washington and New Orleans. Post 8vo. 2*s.* 6*d.*

——— Story of the Battle of Waterloo. Compiled from Public and Authentic Sources. Post 8vo. 5*s.*

——— Narrative of Sir Robert Sale's Brigade in Afghanistan, with an Account of the Seizure and Defence of Jellalabad. Post 8vo. 2*s.* 6*d.*

——— Life of Robert Lord Clive. Post 8vo. 5*s.*

——— Life and Letters of General Sir Thomas Munro. Post 8vo. 5*s.*

GOOCH (Robert, M.D.), On the most Important Diseases peculiar to Women. *Second Edition.* 8vo. 12*s.*

GORDON'S (Sir Alex. Duff) Sketches of German Life, and Scenes from the War of Liberation. From the German. Post 8vo. 5*s.*

——— (Lady Duff), Amber-Witch: the most interesting Trial for Witchcraft ever known. From the German. Post 8vo. 2*s.* 6*d.*

——— French in Algiers. 1. The Soldier of the Foreign Legion. 2. The Prisoners of Abd-el-Kadir. From the French. Post 8vo. 2*s.* 6*d.*

——— Remarkable German Crimes and Trials. From the German. 8vo. 12*s.*

GOSPEL STORIES FOR CHILDREN. An Attempt to render the Chief Events of the Life of Our Saviour intelligible and profitable. *Second Edition.* 18mo. 3*s.* 6*d.*

GRANT'S (Asahel), Nestorians, or the Lost Tribes; containing Evidence of their Identity, their Manners, Customs, and Ceremonies; with Sketches of Travel in Ancient Assyria, Armenia, and Mesopotamia; and Illustrations of Scripture Prophecy. *Third Edition.* Fcap. 8vo. 6*s.*

GRENVILLE (The) **LETTERS AND DIARIES**; being the Public and Private Correspondence of George Grenville, his Friends and Contemporaries, during a period of 30 years.—Including his Diary of Political Events while First Lord of the Treasury. Edited, with Notes, by W. J. Smith. 4 Vols. 8vo. 16*s.* each.

GREEK GRAMMAR FOR SCHOOLS. Abridged from Matthiæ. By the Bishop of London. *Eighth Edition,* revised by Rev. J. Edwards. 12mo. 3*s.*

——— Accidence for Schools. Abridged from Matthiæ. By the Bishop of London. *Fourth Edition,* revised by Rev. J. Edwards. 12mo. 2*s.*

GREY'S (Sir George) Polynesian Mythology, and Ancient Traditional History of the New Zealand Race. Woodcuts. Post 8vo. 10*s.* 6*d.*

GROTE'S (George) History of Greece. From the Earliest Period to the death of Alexander the Great. Maps. 12 vols. 8vo. 16*s.* each. *The Work may be had as follows:—*

Vols. I.–II.—Legendary Greece. Grecian History to the Reign of Peisistratus at Athens.

Vols. III.—IV.—History of Early Athens, and the Legislation of Solon. Grecian Colonies. View of the Contemporary Nations surrounding Greece. Grecian History down to the first Persian Invasion, and the Battle of Marathon.

Vols. V.—VI.—Persian War and Invasion of Greece by Xerxes. Period between the Persian and the Peloponnesian Wars. Peloponnesian War down to the Expedition of the Athenians against Syracuse.

Vols. VII.—VIII.—The Peace of Nikias down to the Battle of Knidus. Socrates and the Sophists.

Vols. IX.—XI.—From the Restoration of the Democracy at Athens down to the Death of Philip of Macedon (B.C. 403—359).

Vol. XII.—The end of the Reign of Alexander the Great. Review of Plato and Aristotle.

GUIZOT (M.), on the Causes of the Success of the English Revolution of 1640-1688. 8vo. 6*s.*; or *Cheap Edition*, 12mo, 1*s.*

——— Democracy in France. *Sixth Edition.* 8vo. 3*s.* 6*d.*

GURWOOD'S (Col.) Despatches of the Duke of Wellington during his various Campaigns. Compiled from Official and Authentic Documents. *New, enlarged, and complete Edition.* 8 vols. 8vo. 21*s.* each.

——— Selections from the Wellington Despatches and General Orders. *New Edition.* 8vo. 18*s.*

——— Speeches in Parliament of the Duke of Wellington. 2 Vols. 8vo. 42*s.*

GUSTAVUS VASA (History of), King of Sweden. With Extracts from his Correspondence. Portrait. 8vo. 10*s.* 6*d.*

HALLAM'S (Henry) Constitutional History of England, from the Accession of Henry the Seventh to the Death of George the Second. *Seventh Edition.* 3 Vols. 8vo. 30*s.*

——— History of Europe during the Middle Ages. *Tenth Edition.* 3 Vols. 8vo. 30*s.*

——— Introduction to the Literary History of Europe, during the 16th, 17th, and 18th Centuries. *Fourth Edition.* 3 Vols. 8vo. 36*s.*

——— Literary Essays and Characters. Selected from the last work. Fcap. 8vo. 2*s.*

HAMILTON'S (Walter) Hindostan, Geographically, Statistically, and Historically. Map. 2 Vols. 4to. 94*s.* 6*d.*

——— (W. J.) Researches in Asia Minor, Pontus, and Armenia; with some Account of the Antiquities and Geology of those Countries. Plates. 2 Vols. 8vo. 38*s.*

HAMPDEN'S (Bishop) Essay on the Philosophical Evidence of Christianity, or the Credibility obtained to a Scripture Revelation from its Coincidence with the Facts of Nature. 8vo. 9*s.* 6*d.*

HARCOURT'S (Edward Vernon) Sketch of Madeira; with Map and Plates. Post 8vo. 8*s.* 6*d.*

HART'S ARMY LIST. (*Published Quarterly and Annually.*) 8vo.

HAY'S (J. H. Drummond) Western Barbary, its wild Tribes and savage Animals. Post 8vo. 2*s.* 6*d.*

HAND-BOOK OF TRAVEL-TALK; or, Conversations in English, German, French, and Italian. 18mo. 3*s*. 6*d*.

——— BELGIUM AND THE RHINE. Maps. Post 8vo. 5*s*.

——— NORTH GERMANY—HOLLAND, BELGIUM, and the Rhine to Switzerland. Map. Post 8vo. 9*s*.

——— SOUTH GERMANY—Bavaria, Austria, Salzberg, the Austrian and Bavarian Alps, the Tyrol, and the Danube, from Ulm to the Black Sea. Map. Post 8vo. 9*s*.

——— SWITZERLAND—the Alps of Savoy, and Piedmont. Maps. Post 8vo. 7*s*. 6*d*.

——— OF FRANCE—Normandy, Brittany, the French Alps, the Rivers Loire, Seine, Rhone, and Garonne, Dauphiné, Provence, and the Pyrenees. Maps. Post 8vo. 9*s*.

——— SPAIN—Andalusia, Ronda, Granada, Valencia, Catalonia, Gallicia, Arragon, and Navarre. Maps. 2 Vols. Post 8vo.

——— PORTUGAL. Map. Post 8vo.

——— PAINTING—the German, Dutch, Spanish, and French Schools. From the German of KUGLER. Edited by SIR EDMUND HEAD. Woodcuts. 2 Vols. Post 8vo.

——— NORTH ITALY—Florence, Sardinia, Genoa, the Riviera, Venice, Lombardy, and Tuscany. Map. Post 8vo. 9*s*.

——— CENTRAL ITALY—SOUTH TUSCANY and the PAPAL STATES. Map. Post 8vo. 7*s*.

——— ROME—AND ITS ENVIRONS. Map. Post 8vo. 7*s*.

——— SOUTH ITALY—Naples, Pompeii, Herculaneum, Vesuvius, &c. Map. Post 8vo. 15*s*.

——— PAINTING—the Italian Schools. From the German of KUGLER. Edited by Sir CHARLES EASTLAKE. Woodcuts. 2 Vols. Post 8vo.

——— PICTURE GALLERIES OF ITALY. Being a Biographical Dictionary of Italian Painters: with a Table of the Contemporary Schools. By a LADY. Edited by RALPH N. WORNUM. Post 8vo. 6*s*. 6*d*.

——— GREECE—the Ionian Islands, Albania, Thessaly, and Macedonia. Maps. Post 8vo. 15*s*.

——— TURKEY—MALTA, ASIA MINOR, CONSTANTINOPLE, Armenia, Mesopotamia, &c. Maps. Post 8vo. 10*s*.

——— EGYPT—Thebes, the Nile, Alexandria, Cairo, the Pyramids, Mount Sinai, &c. Map. Post 8vo. 15*s*.

——— DENMARK—NORWAY and SWEDEN. Maps. Post 8vo. 12*s*.

——— RUSSIA—THE BALTIC AND FINLAND. Maps. Post 8vo. 12*s*.

——— DEVON AND CORNWALL. Maps. Post 8vo. 6*s*.

——— LONDON, PAST AND PRESENT. Being an Alphabetical Account of all the Antiquities, Curiosities, Churches, Works of Art, Places, and Streets connected with Interesting and Historical Associations. Post 8vo. 16*s*.

HAND-BOOK OF MODERN LONDON. A Guide to all objects of interest in the Metropolis. Map. 16mo. 5*s.*

——— ENVIRONS OF LONDON. Including a Circle of 30 Miles round St. Paul's. Maps. Post 8vo. (*Nearly ready.*)

——— BRITISH MUSEUM; ITS ANTIQUITIES AND SCULPTURE. 300 Woodcuts. Post 8vo. 7*s.* 6*d.*

——— PICTURE GALLERIES IN AND NEAR LONDON. With Critical Notices. Post 8vo. 10*s.*

——— WESTMINSTER ABBEY—its Art, Architecture, and Associations. Woodcuts. 16mo. 1*s.*

——— HISTORY, Alphabetically arranged. 8vo. (*Nearly Ready.*)

——— (OFFICIAL). Giving an Historical Account of the Duties attached to the various Civil and Ecclesiastical Departments of the Government. Post 8vo. 6*s.*

——— FAMILIAR QUOTATIONS. Chiefly from English Authors. A New Edition with an Index. Fcap. 8vo. 5*s.*

——— ARCHITECTURE. Being a Concise and Popular Account of the Different Styles prevailing in all Ages and Countries in the World. With a Description of the most remarkable Buildings. By JAMES FERGUSSON. Illustrations. 8vo. *In the Press.*

——— CATHEDRALS OF ENGLAND. With Plates. Post 8vo. *In Preparation.*

——— MEDIÆVAL ART. Translated from the French of M. Jules Labarthe, and Edited by Mrs. PALLISER. With Illustrations. 8vo. *In the Press.*

HEAD'S (SIR FRANCIS) Rough Notes of some Rapid Journeys across the Pampas and over the Andes. Post 8vo. 2*s.* 6*d.*

——— Bubbles from the Brunnen of Nassau. By an OLD MAN. *Sixth Edition.* 16mo. 5*s.*

——— Emigrant. *Sixth Edition.* Fcap. 8vo. 2*s.* 6*d.*

——— Stokers and Pokers, or the London and North-Western Railway. Post 8vo. 2*s.* 6*d.*

——— Defenceless State of Great Britain. Contents—1. Military Warfare. 2. Naval Warfare. 3. The Invasion of England. 4. The Capture of London by a French Army. 5. The Treatment of Women in War. 6. How to Defend Great Britain. Post 8vo. 12*s.*

——— Faggot of French Sticks, or description of Paris in 1851. 2 Vols. Post 8vo. 24*s.*

——— Fortnight in Ireland. *Second Edition.* Map. 8vo. 12*s.*

——— (SIR GEORGE) Forest Scenes and Incidents in Canada. *Second Edition.* Post 8vo. 10*s.*

——— Home Tour through the Manufacturing Districts of England, Scotland, and Ireland, including the Channel Islands, and the Isle of Man. *Third Edition.* 2 Vols. Post 8vo. 12*s.*

HEAD'S (Sir Edmund) Handbook of Painting—the German, Dutch, Spanish and French Schools. Partly from the German of Kugler. With Illustrations. 2 Vols. Post 8vo. 24*s.*

HEBER'S (Bishop) Parish Sermons; on the Lessons, the Gospel, or the Epistle, for every Sunday in the Year, and for Week-day Festivals. *Sixth Edition.* 2 Vols. Post 8vo. 16*s.*

——— Sermons Preached in England. *Second Edition.* 8vo. 9*s.* 6*d.*

——— Hymns written and adapted for the weekly Church Service of the Year. *Twelfth Edition.* 16mo. 2*s.*

——— Poetical Works. *Fifth Edition.* Portrait. Fcap. 8vo. 7*s.* 6*d.*

——— (Bishop) Journey through the Upper Provinces of India. From Calcutta to Bombay, with a Journey to Madras and the Southern Provinces. 2 Vols. Post 8vo. 10*s.*

HEIRESS (The) in Her Minority; or, The Progress of Character. By the Author of "Bertha's Journal." 2 Vols. 12mo. 18*s.*

HERODOTUS. A New English Version. Translated from the Text of Gaisford, and Edited with Notes, illustrating the History and Geography of Herodotus, from the most recent sources of information. By Rev. G. Rawlinson, Colonel Rawlinson, and Sir J. G. Wilkinson. 4 Vols. 8vo. *In Preparation.*

HERSCHEL'S (Sir J. W. F.) Manual of Scientific Enquiry, for the Use of Travellers. By various Writers. *Second Edition.* Post 8vo. 10*s.* 6*d.*

HERVEY'S (Lord) Memoirs of the Reign of George the Second, from his Accession to the Death of Queen Caroline. Edited, with Notes, by Right Hon. J. W. Croker. *Second and Cheaper Edition.* Portrait. 2 Vols. 8vo. 21*s.*

HICKMAN'S (Wm.) Treatise on the Law and Practice of Naval Courts Martial. 8vo. 10*s.* 6*d.*

HILL (Frederic) On Crime: its Amount, Causes, and Remedies. 8vo. 12*s.*

HILLARD'S (G. S.) Six Months in Italy. 2 Vols. Post 8vo. 16*s.*

HISTORY OF ENGLAND AND FRANCE under the House of Lancaster. With an Introductory View of the Early Reformation. 8vo. 15*s.*

——— the late War: with Sketches of Nelson, Wellington, and Napoleon. By J. G. Lockhart. 18mo. 2*s.* 6*d.*

HOLLAND'S (Rev. W. B.) Psalms and Hymns, selected and adapted to the various Solemnities of the Church. *Third Edition.* 24mo. 1*s.* 3*d.*

HOLLWAY'S (J. G.) Month in Norway. Fcap. 8vo. 2*s.*

HONEY BEE (The). An Essay by a Clergyman. Reprinted from the "Quarterly Review." Fcap. 8vo. 1*s.*

HOME AND COLONIAL LIBRARY. Complete in 76 Parts.

Post 8vo, or bound in 37 Volumes, cloth.

CONTENTS OF THE SERIES.

THE BIBLE IN SPAIN. By George Borrow.
JOURNALS IN INDIA. By Bishop Heber.
TRAVELS IN THE HOLY LAND. By Captains Irby and Mangles.
THE SIEGE OF GIBRALTAR. By John Drinkwater.
MOROCCO AND THE MOORS. By J. Drummond Hay.
LETTERS FROM THE BALTIC. By a Lady.
THE AMBER WITCH. By Lady Duff Gordon.
OLIVER CROMWELL & JOHN BUNYAN. By Robert Southey.
NEW SOUTH WALES. By Mrs. Meredith.
LIFE OF SIR FRANCIS DRAKE. By John Barrow.
FATHER RIPA'S MEMOIRS OF THE COURT OF CHINA.
A RESIDENCE IN THE WEST INDIES. By M. G. Lewis.
SKETCHES OF PERSIA. By Sir John Malcolm.
THE FRENCH IN ALGIERS. By Lady Duff Gordon.
BRACEBRIDGE HALL. By Washington Irving.
VOYAGE OF A NATURALIST. By Charles Darwin.
HISTORY OF THE FALL OF THE JESUITS.
LIFE OF LOUIS PRINCE OF CONDÉ. By Lord Mahon.
GIPSIES OF SPAIN. By George Borrow.
THE MARQUESAS. By Hermann Melville.
LIVONIAN TALES. By a Lady.
MISSIONARY LIFE IN CANADA. By Rev. J. Abbott.
SALE'S BRIGADE IN AFFGHANISTAN. By Rev. G. R. Gleig.
LETTERS FROM MADRAS. By a Lady.
HIGHLAND SPORTS. By Charles St. John.
JOURNEYS ACROSS THE PAMPAS. By Sir F. B. Head.
GATHERINGS FROM SPAIN. By Richard Ford.
SIEGES OF VIENNA BY THE TURKS. By Lord Ellesmere.
SKETCHES OF GERMAN LIFE. By Sir A. Gordon.
ADVENTURES IN THE SOUTH SEAS. By Hermann Melville.
STORY OF BATTLE OF WATERLOO. By Rev. G. R. Gleig.
A VOYAGE UP THE RIVER AMAZON. By W. H. Edwards.
THE WAYSIDE CROSS. By Capt. Milman.
MANNERS & CUSTOMS OF INDIA. By Rev. C. Acland.
CAMPAIGNS AT WASHINGTON. By Rev. G. R. Gleig.
ADVENTURES IN MEXICO. By G. F. Ruxton.
PORTUGAL AND GALLICIA. By Lord Carnarvon.
LIFE OF LORD CLIVE. By Rev. G. R. Gleig.
BUSH LIFE IN AUSTRALIA. By H. W. Haygarth.
THE AUTOBIOGRAHY OF HENRY STEFFENS.
TALES OF A TRAVELLER. By Washington Irving.
SHORT LIVES OF THE POETS. By Thomas Campbell.
HISTORICAL ESSAYS. By Lord Mahon.
LONDON & NORTH-WESTERN RAILWAY. By Sir F. B. Head.
ADVENTURES IN THE LYBIAN DESERT. By Bayle St. John.
A RESIDENCE AT SIERRA LEONE. By a Lady.
LIFE OF GENERAL MUNRO. By Rev. G. R. Gleig.
MEMOIRS OF SIR FOWELL BUXTON. By his Son.
LIFE OF OLIVER GOLDSMITH. By Washington Irving.

HOOK'S (Rev. Dr.) Church Dictionary. *Seventh Edition.* 8vo. 16s.

——— Discourses on the Religious Controversies of the Day. 8vo. 9s.

——— Advice to the Roman Catholics. By Dean Comber. *A New Edition.* With Notes. Fcap. 8vo. 3s.

——— (Theodore) Life. An Essay. Reprinted from the "Quarterly Review." Fcap. 8vo. 1s.

HOOKER'S (J. D.) Himalayan Journals; or, Notes of an Oriental Naturalist in Bengal, the Sikkim and Nepal Himalayas, the Khasia Mountains, &c. *Second Edition.* Woodcuts. 2 vols. Post 8vo.

HOOPER'S (Lieut.) Ten Months among the Tents of the Tuski; with Incidents of an Arctic Boat Expedition in Search of Sir John Franklin. By Lieut. Hooper, R.N. Plates 8vo. 14s.

HORACE (Works of). Edited by Dean Milman. *New Edition.* With 300 Woodcuts. Crown 8vo. 21s.

——— (Life of). By Dean Milman. *New Edition.* Woodcuts, and coloured Borders. 8vo. 9s.

HORNER'S (Francis) Memoirs and Letters. By his Brother. *Second Edition.* Portrait. 2 Vols. 8vo. 30s.

HOSPITALS AND SISTERHOODS. *Second Edition.* Fcap. 8vo. 3s. 6d.

HOUSTOUN'S (Mrs.) Yacht Voyage to Texas and the Gulf of Mexico. Plates. 2 Vols. Post 8vo. 21s.

HUMBOLDT'S (Alex.) Cosmos; or, a Physical Description of the World. Translated by Col. and Mrs. Sabine. *Seventh Edition.* 3 Vols. Post 8vo. 10s. 6d.

——— Aspects of Nature in different Lands and in different Climates. Translated by Col. and Mrs. Sabine. 2 Vols. Post 8vo. 5s.

HUTCHINSON (Colonel) on Dog-Breaking; the most expeditious, certain, and easy Method, whether great Excellence or only Mediocrity be required. *Second Edition.* Woodcuts. Fcap. 8vo. 7s. 6d.

INKERSLEY'S (Thos.) Gothic Architecture in France; Being an Inquiry into the Chronological Succession of the Romanesque and Pointed Styles; with Notices of some of the principal Buildings, and an Index. 8vo. 12s.

IRBY AND MANGLES' Travels in Egypt, Nubia, Syria, and the Holy Land, including a Journey round the Dead Sea, and through the Country east of the Jordan. Post 8vo. 2s. 6d.

JAMES' (Rev. Thomas) Fables of Æsop. A New Version, chiefly from the Original Greek. With 100 Original Designs, by John Tenniel. Post 8vo. 2s. 6d.

JAMESON'S (Mrs.) Handbook to the Picture Galleries in and near London. With Historical, Biographical, and Critical Notices Post 8vo. *Second Edition.* 10s.

JAPAN AND THE JAPANESE. Described from the Accounts of Recent Dutch Travellers. *New Edition.* Post 8vo. 6s.

JERVIS'S (Lieut.) Manual of Operations in the Field, for the Use of Officers. Post 8vo. 9s. 6d.

JESSE'S (EDWARD) Visits to Spots of Interest in the Vicinity of Windsor and Eton. Woodcuts. Post 8vo. 12*s.*

——— Scenes and Occupations of Country Life. With Recollections of Natural History. *Third Edition.* Woodcuts. Fcap. 8vo. 6*s.*

——— Gleanings in Natural History. With Anecdotes of the Sagacity and Instinct of Animals. *Sixth Edition.* Fcap. 8vo. 6*s.*

JOCELYN'S (LORD) Six Months with the Chinese Expedition; or, Leaves from a Soldier's Note-Book. *Seventh Edition.* Fcap. 8vo. 5*s.* 6*d.*

JOHNSON'S (DR. SAMUEL) Life: By James Boswell. Including the Tour to the Hebrides, with Notes by SIR W. SCOTT. Edited by the Right Hon. JOHN WILSON CROKER. *A New Edition,* with much additional matter. 1 Vol. Portraits. Royal 8vo. 15*s.*

——— Lives of the most eminent English Poets. A New Edition. Edited and annotated. By PETER CUNNINGHAM. 3 vols. 8vo. 22*s.* 6*d.*

JOHNSTON'S (WM.) England as it is: Social, Political, and Industrial, in the Middle of the 19th Century. 2 Vols. Post 8vo. 18*s.*

JONES'S (REV. RICHARD) Essay on the Distribution of Wealth, and on the Sources of Taxation. Part I.—RENT. *Second Edition.* Post 8vo. 7*s.* 6*d.*

JOURNAL OF A NATURALIST. *Fourth Edition.* Woodcuts. Post 8vo. 9*s.* 6*d.*

JOWETT'S (Rev. B.) Commentary on St. Paul's Epistles to the Thessalonians, Galatians, and Romans. With Notes and Dissertations. 8vo. *In the Press.*

KEN'S (BISHOP) Life. By A LAYMAN. *Second Edition.* Portrait. 2 Vols. 8vo. 18*s.*

——— Exposition of the Apostles Creed. Extracted from his "Practice of Divine Love." *New Edition.* Fcap. 1*s.* 6*d.*

——— Approach to the Holy Altar. Extracted from his "Manual of Prayer" and "Practice of Divine Love." *New Edition.* Fcap. 8vo or 24mo. 1*s.* 6*d.* each.

KING EDWARD VITH's Latin Grammar; or, an Introduction to the Latin Tongue, for the Use of Schools. *Tenth Edition.* 12mo. 3*s.* 6*d.*

——— First Latin Book, or the Accidence, Syntax and Prosody, with an English Translation for the Use of Junior Classes. *Second Edition.* 12mo. 2*s.*

KINNEAR'S (JOHN G.) Cairo, Petra, and Damascus, described from Notes made during a Tour in those Countries: with Remarks on the Government of Mehemet Ali, and on the present prospects of Syria. Post 8vo. 9*s.* 6*d.*

KNIGHT'S (CHARLES) Knowledge is Power: a View of the Productive forces of Modern Society, and the results of Labour, Capital and Skill. Woodcuts. Fcap. 8vo. 7*s.* 6*d.*

——— Once upon a Time. 2 Vols. Fcap. 8vo. 10*s.*

——— Old Printer and Modern Press. Woodcuts. Fcap. 8vo. 5*s.*

KOCH'S (PROFESSOR) Crimea and Odessa; their Climate and Resources, described from personal knowledge. Map. Post 8vo.

KUGLER'S (Dr. Franz) Handbook to the History of Painting (the Italian Schools). Translated from the German. Edited, with Notes, by Sir Charles Eastlake. *Third Edition.* With Woodcuts from the Old Masters. 2 Vols. Post 8vo.

——— (the German, Dutch, Spanish, and French Schools). Partly Translated from the German. Edited, with Notes, by Sir Edmund Head, Bart. With Woodcuts from the Old Masters. 2 Vols. Post 8vo. 24*s.*

LABARTHE'S (M. Jules) Handbook of Mediæval Art. Translated from the French of M. Jules Labarthe, and edited with notes and illustrations, by Mrs. Palliser. Woodcuts. 8vo.

LABORDE'S (Leon De) Journey through Arabia Petræa, to Mount Sinai, and the Excavated City of Petræa,—the Edom of the Prophecies. *Second Edition.* With Plates. 8vo. 18*s.*

LAMBERT'S (Miss) Church Needlework. With Practical Remarks on its Preparation and Arrangement. Plates. Post 8vo. 9*s.* 6*d.*

——— My Knitting Book. Woodcuts. *Two Parts.* 16mo. 3*s.*

——— My Crochet Sampler. Woodcuts. *Two Parts.* 16mo. 4*s.*

——— Hints on Decorative Needlework. 16mo. 1*s.* 6*d.*

LANE'S (E. W.) Arabian Nights. Translated with Explanatory Notes. With Woodcuts. Royal 8vo. 21*s.*

LATIN GRAMMAR (King Edward the VIth's.) For the Use of Schools. *Eighth Edition.* 12mo. 3*s.* 6*d.*

——— First Book (King Edward VI.); or, the Accidence, Syntax, and Prosody, with English Translation for Junior Classes. *Second Edition.* 12mo. 2*s.*

LAYARD'S (Austen H.) Nineveh and its Remains. Being a Narrative of Researches and Discoveries amidst the Ruins of Assyria. With an Account of the Chaldean Christians of Kurdistan; the Yezedis, or Devil-worshippers; and an Enquiry into the Manners and Arts of the Ancient Assyrians. *Sixth Edition.* Plates and Woodcuts. 2 Vols. 8vo. 36*s.*

——— Nineveh and Babylon; being the Result of a Second Expedition to Assyria. *Fourteenth Thousand.* Plates and Woodcuts. 8vo. 21*s.* Or Fine Paper. 2 Vols. 8vo. 30*s.*

——— Popular Account of Nineveh. 15*th Edition.* With Woodcuts. Post 8vo. 5*s.*

——— Monuments of Nineveh. Illustrated by One Hundred Engravings. Imperial Folio, 10*l.* 10*s.*

——— Second Series. Illustrated by Seventy Plates. Imperial Folio. 10*l.* 10*s.*

LEAKE'S (Col. W. Martin) Topography of Athens, with Remarks on its Antiquities; to which is added, the Demi of Attica. *Second Edition.* Plates. 2 Vols. 8vo. 30*s.*

——— Travels in Northern Greece. Maps. 4 Vols. 8vo. 60*s.*

——— Greece at the End of Twenty-three Years Protection. 8vo. 6*d.*

——— Peloponnesiaca: A Supplement to Travels in the Morea. 8vo. 15*s.*

——— Thoughts on the Degradation of Science in England. 8vo. 3*s.* 6*d.*

LESLIE'S (C. R.) Handbook for Young Painters. With Illustrations. Post 8vo. 10*s.* 6*d.*

LETTERS FROM THE SHORES OF THE BALTIC. By a Lady. Post 8vo. 2*s.* 6*d.*

——— Madras; or, First Impressions of Life and Manners in India. By a Lady. Post 8vo. 2*s.* 6*d.*

——— Sierra-Leone, written to Friends at Home. By a Lady. Edited by Mrs. Norton. Post 8vo. 5*s.*

LEWIS' (G. Cornewall) Essay on the Government of Dependencies. 8vo. 12*s.*

——— Glossary of Provincial Words used in Herefordshire and some of the adjoining Counties. 12mo. 4*s.* 6*d.*

——— Essay on the Origin and Formation of the Romance Languages: *Second Edition.* 8vo. 12*s.*

——— (Lady Theresa) Friends and Contemporaries of the Lord Chancellor Clarendon, illustrative of Portraits in his Gallery. With an Introduction, containing a Descriptive Catalogue of the Pictures, and an Account of the Origin of the Collection. Portraits. 3 Vols. 8vo. 42*s.*

——— (M. G.) Journal of a Residence among the Negroes in the West Indies. Post 8vo. 2*s.* 6*d.*

LEXINGTON (The) PAPERS; or, Some Account of the Courts of London and Vienna at the end of the 17th Century. Extracted from Official and Private Correspondence, 1694-1698. Edited by Hon. H. Manners Sutton. 8vo. 14*s.*

LIDDELL'S (H. G.) History of the Republic of Rome. From the close of the Second Punic War to the death of Sylla. 2 Vols. 8vo. *In Preparation.*

——— School History of Rome. From the Earliest Times to the Establishment of the Empire. Woodcuts. Post 8vo. 7*s.* 6*d.*

LINDSAY'S (Lord) Sketches of the History of Christian Art. 3 Vols. 8vo. 31*s.* 6*d.*

——— Lives of the Lindsays; or, a Memoir of the Houses of Crawford and Balcarres. To which are added, Extracts from the Official Correspondence of Alexander, sixth Earl of Balcarres, during the Maroon War; together with Personal Narratives, by his Brothers, the Hon. Robert, Colin, James, John, and Hugh Lindsay; and by his Sister, Lady Anne Barnard. 3 Vols. 8vo. 42*s.*

——— Progression by Antagonism. A Theory, involving Considerations touching the Present Position, Duties, and Destiny of Great Britain. 8vo. 6*s.*

——— (Rev. Henry) Practical Lectures on the Historical Books of the Old Testament. 2 Vols. 16mo. 10*s.*

LITTLE ARTHUR'S HISTORY OF ENGLAND. By Lady Callcott. *Seventeenth Edition.* 18mo. 2*s.* 6*d.*

LIVONIAN TALES.—The Disponent.—The Wolves.—The Jewess. By the Author of "Letters from the Baltic." Post 8vo. 2*s.* 6*d.*

LOCKHART'S (J. G.) Ancient Spanish Ballads. *New Edition,* with Illuminated Titles, Borders, &c. 4to. Or *Cheap Edition.* Post 8vo. 2*s.* 6*d.*

——— Life of Robert Burns. *Fifth Edition.* Fcap. 8vo. 3*s.*

——— History of the Late War: with Sketches of Nelson, Wellington, and Napoleon. 18mo. 2*s.* 6*d.*

LOUDON'S (Mrs.) Ladies' Gardener; or, Instructions in Gardening. With Directions for Every Month in the Year, and a Calendar of Operations. *Eighth Edition.* Woodcuts. Fcap. 8vo. 5*s.*

——— Modern Botany for Ladies; or, a Popular Introduction to the Natural System of Plants. *Second Edition.* Woodcuts. Fcap. 8vo. 6*s.*

LOWE'S (Sir Hudson) Letters and Journals, during the Captivity of Napoleon at St. Helena. By William Forsyth. Portrait. 3 Vols. 8vo. 45*s.*

LYELL'S (Sir Charles) Principles of Geology; or, the Modern Changes of the Earth and its Inhabitants considered as illustrative of Geology. *Ninth Edition.* Woodcuts. 8vo. 18*s.*

——— Manual of Elementary Geology; or, the Ancient Changes of the Earth and its Inhabitants illustrated by its Geological Monuments. *Fifth Edition.* Woodcuts. 8vo.

——— Travels in North America, 1841-2; with Observations on the United States, Canada, and Nova Scotia. Plates. 2 Vols. Post 8vo.

——— Second Visit to the United States of North America, 1845-6. 2 Vols. Post 8vo.

MAHON'S (Lord) History of England, from the Peace of Utrecht to the Peace of Versailles, 1713—83. *Third Edition.* 7 Vols. 8vo. 93*s.*; or, *Popular Edition.* 7 Vols. Post 8vo. 42*s.*

——— "Forty-Five;" or, a Narrative of the Rebellion in Scotland. Post 8vo. 3*s.*

——— History of the War of the Succession in Spain. *Second Edition.* Map. 8vo. 15*s.*

——— Spain under Charles the Second; or, Extracts from the Correspondence of the Hon. Alexander Stanhope, British Minister at Madrid from 1690 to 1700. *Second Edition.* Post 8vo. 6*s.* 6*d.*

——— Life of Louis Prince of Condé, surnamed the Great. Post 8vo. 5*s.*

——— Life of Belisarius. *Second Edition.* Post 8vo. 10*s.* 6*d.*

——— Historical and Critical Essays. Post 8vo. 5*s.*

——— Story of Joan of Arc. Fcap. 8vo. 1*s.*

MᶜCULLOCH'S (J. R.); Collected Edition of Ricardo's Political Works. With Notes and Memoir. *Second Edition.* 8vo. 16*s.*

MALCOLM'S (Sir John) Sketches of Persia. *Third Edition.* Post 8vo. 5*s.*

MANTELL'S (Gideon A.) Thoughts on Animalcules; or, the Invisible World, as revealed by the Microscope. *Second Edition.* Plates. 16mo. 6*s.*

MANUAL OF SCIENTIFIC ENQUIRY, Prepared for the Use of Officers and Travellers in general. By various Writers. Edited by Sir J. Herschel, Bart. *Second Edition.* Maps. Post 8vo. 10*s.* 6*d.* (*Published by order of the Lords of the Admiralty.*)

MARKHAM'S (Mrs.) History of England. From the First Invasion by the Romans, down to the fourteenth year of Queen Victoria's Reign. 68*th Edition.* Woodcuts. 12mo. 6*s.*

——— History of France. From the Conquest by the Gauls, to the Death of Louis Philippe. 30*th Edition.* Woodcuts. 12mo. 6*s.*

MARKHAM'S History of Germany. From the Invasion by Marius, to the present time. *6th Edition.* Woodcuts. 12mo. 6*s.*

—————— History of Greece. With Chapters on the Literature, Art, and Domestic Manners of the Greeks. By Dr. Wm. Smith. *6th Edition.* Woodcuts. 12mo. 7*s.* 6*d.*

—————— History of Rome from the Earliest Times to the Establishment of the Empire. By H. G. Liddell, M.A. Woodcuts. 12mo. 7*s.* 6*d.*

—————— Sermons for Children. *Second Edition.* Fcap. 8vo. 3*s.*

MARKLAND'S (J. H.) Remarks on English Churches, and Sepulchral Memorials. *Fourth Edition.* Woodcuts. Fcap. 8vo. 6*s.* 6*d.*

—————— Reverence due to Holy Places. *Third Edition.* Fcap. 8vo. 2*s.*

MARRYAT'S (Joseph) History of Pottery and Porcelain, in the 15th, 16th, 17th, and 18th Centuries. With a Description of the Manufacture, a Glossary, and a List of Monograms. With Coloured Plates and Woodcuts. 8vo. 31*s.* 6*d.*

⁂ *A few copies on India Proofs, mounted on Large Paper.* 4to. 5*l.* 5*s.*

MATTHIÆ'S (Augustus) Greek Grammar for Schools. Abridged from the Larger Grammar. By Blomfield. *8th Edition.* Revised by Edwards. 12mo. 3*s.*

—————— Greek Accidence for Schools. Abridged by Blomfield. *Fourth Edition,* revised by Edwards. 12mo. 2*s.*

MAUREL'S (Jules) Essay on the Character, Actions, and Writings of the Duke of Wellington. *Second Edition.* Fcap. 8vo. 1*s.* 6*d.*

MAWE'S (H. L.) Journal of a Passage from the Pacific to the Atlantic, crossing the Andes in the Northern Provinces of Peru, and descending the great River Maranon. 8vo. 12*s.*

MAXIMS AND HINTS for an Angler, and the Miseries of Fishing. By Richard Penn. *Second Edition.* Woodcuts. 12mo. 5*s.*

MAYO'S (Dr.) Pathology of the Human Mind. Fcap. 8vo. 5*s.* 6*d.*

MELVILLE'S (Hermann) Typee and Omoo; or, Adventures amongst the Marquesas and South Seas. 2 Vols. Post 8vo. 10*s.*

MENDELSSOHN'S (Felix Bartholdy) Life. By Jules Benedict. 8vo. 2*s.* 6*d.*

MERRIFIELD (Mrs.) on the Arts of Painting in Oil, Miniature, Mosaic, and Glass; Gilding, Dyeing, and the Preparation of Colours and Artificial Gems, described in several old Manuscripts. 2 Vols. 8vo. 30*s.*

MEREDITH'S (Mrs. Charles) Notes and Sketches of New South Wales, during a Residence from 1839 to 1844. Post 8vo. 2*s.* 6*d.*

—————— Tasmania, during a Residence of Nine Years. With Illustrations. 2 Vols. Post 8vo. 18*s.*

MILFORD'S (John) Norway and her Laplanders in 1841; with a Few Hints to the Salmon Fisher. 8vo. 10*s.* 6*d.*

MITCHELL'S (Thomas) Plays of Aristophanes. With English Notes. 8vo.—1. CLOUDS, 10*s.*—2. WASPS, 10*s.*—3. FROGS, 15*s.*

MODERN DOMESTIC COOKERY. Founded on Principles of Economy and Practical Knowledge, and adapted for Private Families. *New and Cheaper Edition.* Woodcuts. Fcap. 8vo. 5*s.*

MILMAN'S (Dean) History of Christianity, from the Birth of Christ to the Extinction of Paganism in the Roman Empire. 3 Vols. 8vo. 36*s.*

———— History of Latin Christianity; including that of the Popes to the Pontificate of Nicholas V. 6 Vols. 8vo. Vols. I. to III. 36*s.*

———— Character and Conduct of the Apostles considered as an Evidence of Christianity. 8vo. 10*s.* 6*d.*

———— Life and Correspondence of Edward Gibbon. Portrait. 8vo. 9*s.*

———— Life and Works of Horace. With 300 Woodcuts. *New Edition.* 2 Vols. Crown 8vo. 30*s.*

———— Poetical Works. Plates. 3 Vols. Fcap. 8vo. 18*s.*

———— Fall of Jerusalem. Fcap. 8vo. 1*s.*

MILMAN'S (Capt. E. A.) Wayside Cross; or, the Raid of Gomez. A Tale of the Carlist War. Post 8vo. 2*s.* 6*d.*

MONASTERY AND THE MOUNTAIN CHURCH. By Author of "Sunlight through the Mist." Woodcuts. 16mo. 4*s.*

MOLTKE'S (Baron) Russian Campaigns on the Danube and the Passage of the Balkan, 1828—9. Plans. 8vo. 14*s.*

MOORE'S (Thomas) Life and Letters of Lord Byron. Plates. 6 Vols. Fcap. 8vo. 18*s.*; or, One Volume. Royal 8vo. 12*s.*

MUCK MANUAL (The) for the Use of Farmers. A Practical Treatise on the Chemical Properties, Management, and Application of Manures. By Frederick Falkner. *Second Edition.* Fcap. 8vo. 5*s.*

MUNDY'S (Capt. Rodney) Events in Borneo, including the Occupation of Labuan and Visit to the Celebes. Plates. 2 Vols. 8vo. 32*s.*

MUNRO'S (General Sir Thomas) Life and Letters. By the Rev. G. R. Gleig. Post 8vo. 5*s.*

MURCHISON'S (Sir Roderick) Russia in Europe and the Ural Mountains; Geologically Illustrated. With Coloured Maps, Plates, Sections, &c. 2 Vols. Royal 4to. 8*l.* 8*s.*

———— Siluria; or, a History of the Oldest Rocks containing Organic Remains. With Map and Plates. 8vo. 30*s.*

MURRAY'S (Capt. A.) Naval Life and Services of Admiral Sir Philip Durham. 8vo. 5*s.* 6*d.*

MURRAY'S RAILWAY READING. Published occasionally; varying in size and price, and suited for all classes of Readers.

[*The following are published:*]

Wellington. By Lord Ellesmere. 6*d.*
Nimrod on the Chase, 1*s.*
Essays from "The Times." 2 Vols. 8*s.*
Music and Dress. 1*s.*
Layard's Popular Account of Nineveh. 5*s.*
Milman's Fall of Jerusalem. 1*s.*
Mahon's "Forty-Five." 3*s.*
Life of Theodore Hook. 1*s.*
Deeds of Naval Daring. 2 Vols. 5*s.*
The Honey Bee. 1*s.*
James' Æsop's Fables. 2*s.* 6*d.*
Nimrod on the Turf. 1*s.* 6*d.*
Oliphant's Nepaul. 2*s.* 6*d.*
Art of Dining. 1*s.* 6*d.*
Hallam's Literary Essays. 2*s.*
Mahon's Joan of Arc. 1*s.*
Head's Emigrant. 2*s.* 6*d.*
Nimrod on the Road. 1*s.*
Wilkinson's Ancient Egyptians. 12*s.*
Croker on the Guillotine. 1*s.*
Hollway's Norway. 2*s.*
Maurel's Wellington. 1*s.* 6*d.*
Campbell's Life of Bacon. 2*s.*
The Flower Garden, 1*s.*
Lockhart's Spanish Ballads. 2*s.* 6*d.*
Lucas on History. 6*d.*
Beauties of Byron. 3*s.*
Taylor's Notes from Life. 2*s.*
Rejected Addresses. 1*s.*

MUSIC AND DRESS. Two Essays by a Lady. Reprinted from the "Quarterly Review." Fcap. 8vo. 1*s.*

NAUTICAL ALMANACK (The). (*Published by Order of the Lords Commissioners of the Admiralty.*) Royal 8vo. 2*s.* 6*d.*

NAVY LIST (The Royal). (*Published Quarterly, by Authority.*) 12mo. 2*s.* 6*d.*

NEWBOLD'S (Lieut.) Straits of Malacca, Penang, and Singapore. 2 Vols. 8vo. 26*s.*

NICHOLLS' (Sir George) History of the English Poor Law: in connection with the Condition of the People. 2 Vols. 8vo. 28*s.*

NIMROD On the Chace—The Turf—and The Road. Reprinted from the "Quarterly Review." Woodcuts. Fcap. 8vo. 3*s.* 6*d.*

NORTON'S (Hon. Caroline) Letters from Sierra Leone, to Friends at Home. By a Lady. Edited by Mrs. Norton. Post 8vo. 5*s.*

O'BYRNE'S (W. R.) Naval Biographical Dictionary, comprising the Life and Services of every Living Officer in H. M. Navy, from the Rank of Admiral to that of Lieutenant. Compiled from Authentic and Family Documents. Royal 8vo. 42*s.*

O'CONNOR'S (R.) Field Sports of France; or, Hunting, Shooting, and Fishing on the Continent. Woodcuts. 12mo. 7*s.* 6*d.*

OLIPHANT'S (Laurence) Journey to Katmandu, with Visit to the Camp of the Nepaulese Ambassador. Fcap. 8vo. 2*s.* 6*d.*

OXENHAM'S (Rev. W.) English Notes for Latin Elegiacs; designed for early Proficients in the Art of Latin Versification, with Prefatory Rules of Composition in Elegiac Metre. *Second Edition.* 12mo. 4*s.*

PAGET'S (John) Hungary and Transylvania. With Remarks on their Condition, Social, Political, and Economical. *Third and Cheaper Edition.* Woodcuts. 2 Vols. 8vo. 18*s.*

PARISH'S (Sir Woodbine) Buenos Ayres and the Provinces of the Rio de la Plata. Their First Discovery and Conquest, Present State, Trade, Debt, &c. *Second Edition.* Map and Woodcuts. 8vo. 15*s.*

PARIS'S (T. C.) Letters from the Pyrenees during Three Months' Pedestrian Wanderings amidst the Wildest Scenes of the French and Spanish Pyrenees. Woodcuts. Post 8vo. 10*s.* 6*d.*

PARKYNS' (Mansfield) Personal Narrative of Three Years' Residence and Adventures in Abyssinia. Woodcuts. 2 Vols. 8vo. 30*s.*

PEILE'S (Rev. Dr.) Agamemnon of Æschylus. A New Edition of the Text, with Notes, Critical, Explanatory, and Philological, for the Use of Students. *Second Edition.* 8vo. 9*s.*

——— Choephoræ of Æschylus. A New Edition of the Text, with Notes, Critical, Explanatory, and Philological, for the Use of Students. *Second Edition.* 8vo. 9*s.*

PELLEW'S (Dean of Norwich) Life of Lord Sidmouth, with his Correspondence. Portraits. 3 Vols. 8vo. 42*s.*

PENN'S (Richard) Maxims and Hints for an Angler, and the Miseries of Fishing. To which is added, Maxims and Hints for a Chess-player. *Second Edition.* Woodcuts. Fcap. 8vo. 5*s.*

——— (Granville) Bioscope; or, Dial of Life Explained. To which is added, a Translation of St. Paulinus' Epistle to Celantia, on the Rule of Christian Life; and an Elementary View of General Chronology. *Second Edition.* With Dial Plate. 12mo. 12*s.*

PENROSE'S (Rev. John) Lives of Vice-Admiral Sir C. V. Penrose, and Captain James Trevenen. Portraits. 8vo. 10*s.* 6*d.*

——— (F. C.) Principles of Athenian Architecture, and the Optical Refinements exhibited in the Construction of the Ancient Buildings at Athens, from a Survey. With 40 Plates. Folio. 5*l.* 5*s.* (*Published under the direction of the Dilettanti Society.*)

PERRY'S (Sir Erskine) Bird's-Eye View of India. With Extracts from a Journal kept in the Provinces, Nepaul, &c. Fcap. 8vo.

PHILLIPS' (John) Memoirs of William Smith, LL.D., (the Geologist). Portrait. 8vo. 7*s.* 6*d.*

——— Geology of Yorkshire. The Yorkshire Coast, and the Mountain-Limestone District. Plates 4to. Part I., 31*s.* 6*d.*—Part II., 52*s.* 6*d.*

——— The Rivers, Mountains, and Sea Coast of Yorkshire. With Essays on the Climate, Scenery, and Ancient Inhabitants of the Country. *Second Edition*, with 36 Plates. 8vo. 15s.

PHILOSOPHY IN SPORT MADE SCIENCE IN EARNEST; or, the First Principles of Natural Philosophy inculcated by aid of the Toys and Sports of Youth. *Seventh Edition.* Woodcuts. Fcap. 8vo. 7*s.* 6*d.*

PHILPOTT'S (Bishop) Letters to the late Charles Butler, on the Theological parts of his "Book of the Roman Catholic Church;" with Remarks on certain Works of Dr. Milner and Dr. Lingard, and on some parts of the Evidence of Dr. Doyle. *Second Edition.* 8vo. 16*s.*

PHIPPS' (Hon. Edmund) Memoir, Correspondence, Literary and Unpublished Diaries of Robert Plumer Ward. Portrait. 2 Vols. 8vo. 28*s.*

POOLE'S (R. S.) Horæ Egyptiacæ; or, the Chronology of Ancient Egypt, discovered from Astronomical and Hieroglyphic Records upon its Monuments. Plates. 8vo. 10*s.* 6*d.*

——— (Rev. G. A.) Handbook for the Cathedrals of England. Containing Descriptions of each. Woodcuts. Post 8vo. *In Preparation.*

POPE'S (Alexander) WORKS. An entirely New Edition. Edited by the Right Hon. John Wilson Croker assisted by Peter Cunningham, F.S.A. 8vo. *In the Press.*

PORTER'S (G. R.) Progress of the Nation, in its various Social and Economical Relations, from the beginning of the Nineteenth Century. *Third Edition.* 8vo. 24*s.*

——— (Mrs. G. R.) Rational Arithmetic for Schools and for Private Instruction. 12mo. 3*s.* 6*d.*

POWELL'S (Rev. W. P.) Latin Grammar simplified. 12mo. 3*s.* 6*d.*

PRAYER-BOOK (The), Illuminated with 1000 Illustrations of Borders, Initials, Vignettes, &c. Medium 8vo. Cloth, 21*s.*; Calf, 31*s.* 6*d.* Morocco, 42*s.*

PROGRESS OF RUSSIA IN THE EAST. An Historical Summary, continued to the Present Time. With Map by Arrowsmith. *Third Edition.* 8vo. 6*s.* 6*d.*

QUARTERLY REVIEW (The). 8vo. 6*s.*

RANKE'S (Leopold) Political and Ecclesiastical History of the Popes of Rome, during the Sixteenth and Seventeenth Centuries. Translated from the German by Mrs. Austin. *Third Edition.* 2 Vols. 8vo. 24*s.*

RAWLINSON'S (Rev. George) Herodotus. A New English Version. Translated from the Text of Gaisford, and Edited with Notes, illustrating the History and Geography of Herodotus, from the most recent sources of information, embodying the chief Results, Historical and Ethnographical, which have been arrived at in the progress of Cuneiform and Hieroglyphical Discovery. Assisted by Colonel Rawlinson, and Sir J. G. Wilkinson. 4 Vols. 8vo. *In Preparation.*

REJECTED ADDRESSES (The). By James and Horace Smith. With Biographies of the Authors, and additional Notes. *New Edition, with the Author's latest Corrections.* Portraits. Fcap. 8vo. 1*s*., or on *Fine Paper*. With Portrait and Woodcuts. Fcap. 8vo. 5*s*.

RICARDO'S (David) Political Works. With a Notice of his Life and Writings. By J. R. M'Culloch. *New Edition.* 8vo. 16*s*.

RIPA'S (Father) Memoirs during Thirteen Years' Residence at the Court of Peking, in the Service of the Emperor of China. Translated from the Italian. By Fortunato Prandi. Post 8vo. 2*s*. 6*d*.

ROBERTSON'S (Rev. J. C.) History of the Christian Church, to the Pontificate of Gregory the Great: a Manual for general Readers as well as for Students in Theology. 8vo. 12*s*.

ROBINSON'S (Edwd., D.D.) Biblical Researches in the Holy Land. A New and Revised Edition. With Maps. 2 Vols. 8vo. *In Preparation.*

———— Later Biblical Researches in the Holy Land in the in the year 1852. Maps. 8vo. *In Preparation.*

ROMILLY'S (Sir Samuel) Memoirs and Political Diary. By his Sons. *Third Edition.* Portrait. 2 Vols. Fcap. 8vo. 12*s*.

ROSS'S (Sir James) Voyage of Discovery and Research in the Southern and Antarctic Regions during the years 1839-43. Plates. 2 Vols. 8vo. 36*s*.

ROYAL SOCIETY OF LITERATURE (The). Transactions. Plates. Vols. I. to III. 8vo. 12*s*. each.

RUNDELL'S (Mrs.) Domestic Cookery, founded on Principles of Economy and Practice, and adapted for Private Families. *New and Cheaper Edition.* Woodcuts. Fcap. 8vo. 5*s*.

RUXTON'S (George F.) Travels in Mexico; with Adventures among the Wild Tribes and Animals of the Prairies and Rocky Mountains. Post 8vo. 5*s*.

SALE'S (Lady) Journal of the Disasters in Affghanistan. *Eighth Edition.* Post 8vo. 12*s*.

———— (Sir Robert) Brigade in Affghanistan. With an Account of the Seizure and Defence of Jellalabad. By Rev. G. R. Gleig. Post 8vo. 2*s*. 6*d*.

SCROPE'S (William) Days of Deer-Stalking in the Forest of Atholl; with some Account of the Nature and Habits of the Red Deer. *Third Edition.* Woodcuts. Crown 8vo. 20*s*.

———— Days and Nights of Salmon Fishing in the Tweed; with a short Account of the Natural History and Habits of the Salmon. *Second Edition.* Woodcuts. Royal 8vo.

———— (G. P.) Memoir of Lord Sydenham, and his Administration in Canada. *Second Edition.* Portrait. 8vo. 9*s*. 6*d*.

SENTENCES FROM THE PROVERBS. In English, French, Italian, and German. For the Daily Use of Young Persons. By A Lady. 16mo. 3*s*. 6*d*.

SEYMOUR'S (H. Danby) Account of the Crimea and the Shores of the Sea of Azoff. Map. 8vo.

SHAW'S (Thos. B.) Outlines of English Literature, for the Use of Young Students. Post 8vo. 12*s.*

SIDMOUTH'S (Lord) Life and Correspondence. By the Hon. and Rev. George Pellew, Dean of Norwich. Portraits. 3 Vols. 8vo. 42*s.*

SIERRA LEONE; Described in a Series of Letters to Friends at Home. By A Lady. Edited by Mrs. Norton. Post 8vo. 5*s.*

SMITH'S (Wm., LL.D.) Dictionary of Greek and Roman Antiquities. *Second Edition.* With 500 Woodcuts. 8vo. 42*s.*

——— Smaller Dictionary of Greek and Roman Antiquities, *Third Edition.* With 200 Woodcuts. Crown 8vo. 7*s.* 6*d.*

——— Dictionary of Greek and Roman Biography and Mythology. With 500 Woodcuts. 3 Vols. 8vo. 5*l.* 15*s.* 6*d.*

——— Dictionary of Greek and Roman Geography. Woodcuts. Vol. I. 8vo. 36*s.*

——— New Classical Dictionary for Schools. Compiled from the two last works. *Third Edition.* 8vo. 15*s.*

——— Smaller Classical Dictionary. *Third Edition.* With 200 Woodcuts. Crown 8vo. 7*s.* 6*d.*

——— New Latin-English Dictionary for Colleges and Schools. Medium 8vo.

——— Smaller Latin-English Dictionary. Square 8vo.

——— School History of Greece; from the Earliest Times to the Roman Conquest, with Supplementary Chapters on the History of Literature and Art. Woodcuts. *Sixth Edition.* Crown 8vo. 7*s.* 6*d.*

——— School History of Rome; from the Earliest Times to the Establishment of the Empire. By H. G. Liddell, M.A., Head Master of Westminster School. Woodcuts. Post 8vo. 7*s.* 6*d.*

——— Edition of Gibbon's Decline and Fall of the Roman Empire. With Notes by Milman and Guizot. Portrait and Map. 8 Vols. 8vo. 60*s.*

——— (Wm. Jas.) Grenville Letters and Diaries, including Mr. Grenville's Diary of Political Events, while First Lord of the Treasury. Edited with Notes. 4 Vols. 8vo. 64*s.*

——— (James & Horace) Rejected Addresses. *Twenty-third Edition, with Author's latest corrections.* Fcap. 8vo. 1*s.*, or *on Fine Paper.* With Portrait and Woodcuts. Fcap 8vo. 5*s.*

SOMERVILLE'S (Mary) Physical Geography. *Third Edition.* Portrait. 2 Vols. Fcap. 8vo. 12*s.*

——— Connexion of the Physical Sciences. *Eighth Edition.* Plates. Fcap. 8vo. 10*s.* 6*d.*

SOUTHEY'S (Robert) Book of the Church; with Notes containing the Authorities, and an Index. *Sixth Edition.* 8vo. 12*s.*

——— Lives of John Bunyan & Oliver Cromwell. Post 8vo. 2*s.* 6*d.*

SPECKTER'S (Otto) Charmed Roe; or, the Story of the Little Brother and Sister. Illustrated. 16mo. 5*s.*

STANLEY'S (Edward, D.D., Bp. of Norwich) Addresses and Charges. With a Memoir of his Life. By His Son. *Second Edition.* 8vo. 10*s.* 6*d.*

——— (Arthur P.) Commentary on St. Paul's Epistles to the Corinthians, with Notes and Dissertations. 2 Vols. 8vo. *In the Press.*

——— Historical Memoirs of Canterbury. The Landing of Augustine—The Murder of Becket—The Black Prince—The Shrine of Becket. Woodcuts. 8vo. 7*s.* 6*d.*

——— Sinai and Palestine. In Connexion with their History. Map. 8vo.

ST. JOHN'S (Charles) Field Notes of a Sportsman and Naturalist in Sutherland. Woodcuts. 2 Vols. Post 8vo. 18*s.*

——— Wild Sports and Natural History of the Highlands. Post 8vo. 5*s.*

——— (Bayle) Adventures in the Libyan Desert and the Oasis of Jupiter Ammon. Woodcuts. Post 8vo. 2*s.* 6*d.*

STISTED'S (Mrs. Henry) Letters from the Bye-Ways of Italy. Plates. 8vo. 18*s.*

STOTHARD'S (Thos., R. A.) Life. With Personal Reminiscences. By Mrs. Bray. With Portrait, and 60 Woodcuts. 4to. 21*s.*

STRIFE FOR THE MASTERY. Two Allegories. With Illustrations. Crown 8vo. 6*s.*

SUNLIGHT THROUGH THE MIST; or, Practical Lessons drawn from the Lives of Good Men, intended as a Sunday Book for Children. By A Lady. *Second Edition.* 16mo. 3*s.* 6*d.*

SUTTON (Hon. H. Manners). Some Account of the Courts of London and Vienna, at the end of the Seventeenth Century, extracted from the Official and Private Correspondence of Robert Sutton (late Lord Lexington) while British Minister at Vienna, 1694-98. 8vo. 14*s.*

SWIFT'S (Jonathan) Works. New Edition, based upon Sir Walter Scott's Edition, entirely revised. 8vo. *In Preparation.*

SYDENHAM'S (Lord) Memoirs. With his Administration in Canada. By G. Poulet Scrope, M.P. *Second Edition.* Portrait. 8vo, 9*s.* 6*d.*

TALBOT'S (H. Fox) English Etymologies. 8vo. 12*s.*

TAYLOR'S (Henry) Notes from Life. Post 8vo. 6*s.*; or, *Cheap Edition.* Fcap. 8vo. 2*s.*

——— Notes from Books. *Third Edition.* Post 8vo. 9*s.*

——— (J. E.) Fairy Ring. A Collection of Stories for Young Persons. From the German. With Illustrations by Richard Doyle. *Second Edition.* Woodcuts. Fcap. 8vo. 7*s.* 6*d.*

TENNENT'S (Sir J. E.) Christianity in Ceylon. Its Introduction and Progress under the Portuguese, Dutch, British, and American Missions. With an Historical Sketch of the Brahmanical and Buddhist Superstitions Woodcuts. 8vo. 14*s.*

THREE-LEAVED MANUAL OF FAMILY PRAYER; arranged so as to save the trouble of turning the Pages backwards and forwards. Royal 8vo. 2*s.*

THRESHOLD (THE) OF LIFE. A Series of Letters addressed to a Son on his Entrance into the world. Fcap. 8vo. *In the Press.*

TICKNOR'S (GEORGE) History of Spanish Literature. With Criticisms on particular Works, and Biographical Notices of Prominent Writers. *Second and Cheaper Edition.* 3 Vols. 8vo. 24*s.*

TREMENHEERE'S (H. S.) Political Experience of the Ancients, in its bearing on Modern Times. Fcap. 8vo. 2*s.* 6*d.*

———— Notes on Public Subjects, made during a Tour in the United States and Canada. Post 8vo. 10*s.* 6*d.*

———— Constitution of the United States compared with our own. Post 8vo. 9*s.* 6*d.*

TURNBULL'S (P. E.) Narrative of Travels in Austria, with Remarks on its Social and Political Condition. 2 Vols. 8vo. 24*s.*

TWISS' (HORACE) Public and Private Life of Lord Chancellor Eldon, with Selections from his Correspondence. Portrait. *Third Edition.* 2 Vols. Post 8vo. 21*s.*

UBICINI'S (M. A.) Letters on Turkey and its Inhabitants—the Moslems, Greeks, Armenians, &c. 2 Vols. Post 8vo.

VAUGHAN'S (REV. DR.) Sermons preached in Harrow School. 8vo. 10*s.* 6*d.*

———— Nine New Sermons. 12mo. 5*s.*

VAUX'S (W. S. W.) Handbook to the Antiquities in the British Museum; being a Description of the Remains of Greek, Assyrian, Egyptian, and Etruscan Art preserved there. With 300 Woodcuts. Post 8vo. 7*s.* 6*d.*

VOYAGE to the Mauritius and back, touching at the Cape of Good Hope, and St. Helena. By Author of "PADDIANA." Post 8vo. 9*s.* 6*d.*

WAAGEN'S (DR.) Treasures of Art in Great Britain. Being an Account of the Chief Collections of Paintings, Sculpture, Manuscripts, Miniatures, &c. &c., in this Country. Obtained from Personal Inspection during Visits to England. 3 Vols. 8vo. 36*s.*

WADDINGTON'S (DEAN) The Condition and Prospects of the Greek Church. *New Edition.* Fcap. 8vo. 3*s.* 6*d.*

WAKEFIELD'S (E. J.) Adventures in New Zealan[illegible] With some Account of the Beginning of the British Colonisation of the Island. Map. 2 Vols. 8vo. 28*s.*

WALKS AND TALKS. A Story-book for Young Children. By AUNT IDA. With Woodcuts. 16mo. 5*s.*

WARD'S (ROBERT PLUMER) Memoir, Correspondence, Literary and Unpublished Diaries and Remains. By the HON. EDMUND PHIPPS. Portrait. 2 Vols. 8vo. 28*s.*

WATT (JAMES); Origin and Progress of his Mechanical Inventions. Illustrated by his correspondence with his friends. Edited with an Introductory Memoir, by J. P. MUIRHEAD. Plates. 3 vols. 8vo., 45*s.*; or Large Paper. 4to. 48*s.*

WELLESLEY'S (REV. DR.) Anthologia Polyglotta; a Selection of Versions in various Languages chiefly from the Greek Anthology. 8vo, 15*s.*; or 4to, 42*s.*

WELLINGTON'S (THE DUKE OF) Character, Actions, and Writings. By JULES MAUREL. *Second Edition.* 1*s.* 6*d.*

——— Despatches during his various Campaigns. Compiled from Official and other Authentic Documents. By COL. GURWOOD, C.B. *New Enlarged Edition.* 8 Vols. 8vo. 21*s.* each.

——— Selections from his Despatches and General Orders. 8vo. 18*s.*

——— Speeches in Parliament. Collected and Arranged with his sanction. 2 Vols, 8vo. 42*s.*

WILKIE'S (SIR DAVID) Life, Journals, Tours, and Critical Remarks on Works of Art, with a Selection from his Correspondence. By ALLAN CUNNINGHAM. Portrait. 3 Vols. 8vo. 42*s.*

WILKINSON'S (SIR J. G.) Popular Account of the Private Life, Manners, and Customs of the Ancient Egyptians. With 500 Woodcuts. 2 Vols. Post 8vo. 12*s.*

——— Dalmatia and Montenegro; with a Journey to Mostar in Hertzegovina, and Remarks on the Slavonic Nations. Plates and Woodcuts. 2 Vols. 8vo. 42*s.*

——— Handbook for Egypt.—Thebes, the Nile, Alexandria, Cairo, the Pyramids, Mount Sinai, &c. Map. Post 8vo. 15*s.*

——— (MATTHEW, D.D.) School Sermons, preached in the Chapel of Marlborough College. 8vo. 9*s.*

——— (G. B.) Working Man's Handbook to South Australia; with Advice to the Farmer, and Detailed Information for the several Classes of Labourers and Artisans. Map. 18mo. 1*s.* 6*d.*

WOOD'S (LIEUT.) Voyage up the Indus to the Source of the River Oxus, by Kabul and Badakhshan. Map. 8vo. 14*s.*

WOODWARD'S (B.B.) Handbook of History; or Chronology Alphabetically Arranged to Facilitate Reference. 8vo.

WORDSWORTH'S (REV. DR.) Athens and Attica. Journal of a Tour. *Third Edition.* Plates. Post 8vo. 8*s.* 6*d.*

——— King Edward VIth's Latin Grammar, for the Use of Schools. 10*th Edition,* revised. 12mo. 3*s.* 6*d.*

——— First Latin Book, or the Accidence, Syntax and Prosody, with English Translation for Junior Classes. *Second Edition.* 12mo. 2*s.*

WORNUM'S (RALPH) Biographical Dictionary of Italian Painters: [illegible]h a Table of the Contemporary Schools of Italy, designed as a Handbook to the Picture Galleries of Italy. By a LADY. With a Chart. Post 8vo. 6*s.* 6*d.*

WORSAAE'S (J. J. A.) Account of the Danes and Northmen in England, Scotland, and Ireland. Woodcuts. 8vo. 10*s.* 6*d.*

YOUNG'S (DR. THOS.) (the Discoverer of Hieroglyphics) Life. By GEORGE PEACOCK, D.D., Dean of Ely. Portrait. 8vo.

——— Miscellaneous Works, edited, by DEAN PEACOCK and JOHN LEITCH. Plates and Woodcuts. 3 Vols. 8vo.

BRADBURY AND EVANS, PRINTERS, WHITEFRIARS

90

DS 809 .M29
Manners and customs of the Jap
Stanford University Libraries
3 6105 041 524 492

STANFORD UNIVERSITY LIBRARIES
CECIL H. GREEN LIBRARY
STANFORD, CALIFORNIA 94305-6004
(415) 723-1493

All books may be recalled after 7 days

DATE DUE

28D MAR 2 4 1994
MAR 9 1994
NOV - 5 2000
OCT 3 0 2000
SEP 2 3 2005
JUN 2 1 2005